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SRC-TR-99-001
January 1999

HISPANIC YOUTH AND MILITARY ENLISTMENT PROPENSITY

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Sincerely,

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Preface

The Security Research Center (SRC) of the Defense Security Service (DSS) has a continuing program of research addressing the qualifications of personnel applying for positions requiring security clearances within government and industry. Over the years, a significant effort has been made to assess the characteristics of personnel entering the military Services.

The SRC was tasked by the Director of Accession Policy, ASD (Force Manpower Policy), to evaluate the decline in Hispanic propensity to enlist in the Armed Forces and to make recommendations for use in advertising campaigns, in determining recruiting incentives and for informing the public. We reviewed the literature and data on propensity for military service, examined a wide range of statistical information on Hispanics, and examined programs by the Services to attract Hispanics. We also interviewed leaders in the Hispanic community to determine attitudes toward the military.

The report documents the changes in Hispanic enlistment propensity over time in comparison with the propensity of other groups of young males and females. We present a variety of reasons for the declining propensity, describe a successful program for enlisting Hispanics, and make recommendations for further addressing the issue.

James A. Riedel, Ph.D.
Director

Acknowledgements

Many dedicated individuals provided a great deal of assistance to this research effort:

The study was conceived by Dr. W. S. Sellman, Director of Accession Policy, ASD (FMP). MAJ David McCormick, ASD (FMP), and Dr. Jerry Lehnus, Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) provided guidance as the study progressed. The work of Dr. Naomi Verdugo of HQDA (DAPE-HR), the Army demographer referred to in this report, provided an excellent research base. Bruce Orvis of RAND and David Segal of the University of Maryland and Monitoring the Future Study shared generously of their knowledge about youth propensity as well as of their data.

Tom Ulrich, DMDC, provided guidance concerning advertising and recruitment. James Love and Manny Oliverez of the Equal Opportunity Office contributed insights into equal opportunity issues. COL Jose Bolton and Dr. M. R. Dansby of the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) provided valuable DEOMI publications. Al Gropman at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces (ICAF) helped frame the Hispanic propensity decline in the context of the earlier African-American propensity decline. Jose Garcia, Development Associates, offered insights gained from a highly successful Army career.

The USMC recruiting community provided great support, in particular Major Mark Witzel of USMC Headquarters Recruiting Command; Major Carl Nishioka, Director of the Marine Corps Recruiters School; Sergeant Major David Hawkins; Major John Hall; Master Gunnery Sergeant Carmen Agosto; Sergeant Roberto Mendez; Gunnery Sergeant Vincent Iniquez; and Staff Sergeant Mario Partida.

All of the individual recruiting commands provided timely information: Major Michael McGurk and Kevin Lyman of the Army (as well as Jose Garcia); Andrea Zukar and Rich Van Meter of the Navy; and, George Germadnik, James Willis and Rick Hoke of the Air Force all aided in this effort.

The greatest debt is to the many leaders who volunteered their time and thoughts to the issue of decreasing Hispanic youth propensity for military service. The historical knowledge, visions, and advice they provided were invaluable and contributed greatly to providing a structure for the findings of this research.

Executive Summary

Background

Are Hispanics becoming less interested in military service?

A reliable key indicator, the Department of Defense's Youth Attitude Tracking Study (YATS), indicates that they are. In the early 1990s, Hispanic youths' interest in military service was the highest it had ever been, and indeed surpassed the propensity rates of both African-American and white youth. Today, however, trend data from the YATS indicate that there has been a gradual decline in propensity for Hispanics (and most other youth) over the last decade.

How important is declining enlistment propensity among Hispanics?

Census Bureau projections indicate that Hispanics will overtake African-Americans as the largest minority group by 2005 and, if Puerto Rico is included, Hispanics may already be the largest minority in the U.S. Moreover, Hispanics make up an even larger proportion of Americans under the age of 25, and therefore constitute an increasingly major part of the Armed Forces' potential labor pool. Thus, the challenge to the military Services will be to continue to recruit qualified Hispanic youth in the face of continued decreasing propensity.

Purpose

The purpose of this report is to explore the issue of Hispanic propensity in more depth than has previously been available, and to identify possible causes of Hispanic youths' declining interest in military service. It is meant to complement other DoD efforts to understand declining propensity among young males in general, and among African-American males in particular. No single satisfactory explanation for declining propensity has yet been found. Rather, many factors involving both cultural forces affecting youth (e.g., changing attitudes, changing values, family transformations, etc.) and economic factors (e.g., employment rates, advertising expenditures, recruiting resources) may be contributing to declining interest in military service. This report addresses socio-economic forces that may be having specific effects on the Hispanic community. It also looks at how cultural aspects of the lives of Hispanic youth may be influencing their propensity to enlist in the Armed Forces.

Approach

Since this report is primarily exploratory (i.e., it was motivated by research *questions*, as opposed to research hypotheses), a wide range of data sources and analyses were employed to address the research questions. Some of the research was secondary, in that it involved reviewing surveys and other data gathered by researchers in other settings. However, a major part of this report presents information gathered in primary research involving interviews with leaders in the Hispanic community, and discussions with recruiting officials who were selected on the basis of

their experience with attracting Hispanic youth to military service. In that sense, part of the research was modeled after the "Key Informant Approach," that uses interviews with experts (both laypersons and professionals) to shed light on phenomena observed among populations which may be difficult to research directly (e.g., youths, drug users, mental patients). In any case, interviews with experts, rather than with youths themselves, are a highly efficient means of gathering a wealth of information in a relatively short time. Given more time and resources, it would have been desirable to conduct interviews and/or focus groups with Hispanic youths around the country.

Findings

The Hispanic community is not homogenous

As with previous studies on declining enlistment propensity, this report does not offer a single, definitive explanation for Hispanic youths' decreasing interest in military service. Indeed, no such explanation may exist. As this report shows in a number of different ways, the Hispanic community is composed of many different groups, and encompasses enormous diversity in terms of national origin, regional concentration, immigration experiences, etc. In fact, it appears that the closer one examines Hispanic propensity, the less useful it becomes to conceive of "Hispanic propensity" as a single, unified phenomenon.

Mexican-American youth's propensity is especially important

In light of the initial conclusion above, one purpose of this report was to begin to understand declining enlistment propensity among Hispanic youth by comparing propensity rates along a number of different axes, including gender, country-of-origin (e.g., Mexican-Americans vs. Puerto Ricans), education, cognitive ability, and region. Thus, this report presents a number of analyses of Hispanic propensity, including comparisons between "high quality" and "low quality" youth, regional variations in Hispanic youth propensity, and proportions of Hispanic participation in the various Services. The report emphasizes that the largest proportion of the Hispanic population qualified for military service (e.g., with a High School degree) is Mexican-American, and that reversing propensity declines among Mexican-American youth would go a long way toward improving Hispanic propensity rates in general.

Hispanic leaders see the need for cultural sensitivity

The Hispanic leaders interviewed for this report spoke to many different issues, and the reader is strongly encouraged to read that section of this report in its entirety to gain a range of insights into the Hispanic community and its needs, concerns, hopes, etc. However, the overarching theme to emerge from the interviews is that Hispanic culture, and particularly Mexican-American culture, strongly affects how Hispanic youth perceive the military, and how they respond to the overtures of recruiters and recruiting advertisements. Some of the specific cultural issues raised by the leaders were:

- **Opportunity:** Hispanics understand that they represent an increasingly important market and component of the American economy. Thus, more than in the past, well-educated Hispanic youth set their sights on professional and managerial careers, and they have more opportunities now than previously to pursue such goals. Enlisting in the military may now be an unattractive option to many such youths. Alternatively, many less-privileged Hispanic youth perceive schools as "not working for them," and opt to drop out and begin remunerative employment as soon as possible. Thus, such youth may make themselves prematurely ineligible for military service (i.e., by not earning a high school diploma).

- **Community outreach:** The leaders highlighted the importance that a sense of community has for many Hispanics. The implication was that Hispanic youth may calculate the costs and benefits of military service not just in terms of their own self-interest, but also in terms of the costs and benefits that would accrue to their families and communities if they enlisted. Many Hispanic youths may be unwilling to enlist if it means they will be sent far away from their families and neighborhoods. Moreover, according to some of the leaders, the fact that U.S. troops have been involved in border patrol may contribute to the perception that the military is unfriendly to the Hispanic community. Also, in light of the Hispanic community's inroads into the American economy, a tradition of Hispanic public service may be giving way to an emphasis on financial power and corporate success, and this may deter youth from considering military enlistment. However, the leaders also stressed that concerted efforts on the part of the military to support Hispanic community issues and to publicize the heroic contributions of Hispanic soldiers could go a long way toward encouraging Hispanic military service.

- **Perceptions of the military:** Many of the leaders appeared to suggest that the military might be suffering a public relations problem within the Hispanic community. For example, recent immigrants, especially those from Central and South American countries which had dictatorial regimes, may view the military--especially the Army--with fear and suspicion. Also, recent scandals in the U.S. military involving sexual harassment and racial incidents may be turning some Hispanics away from enlistment. Furthermore, leaders noted that base closings and other processes associated with military downsizing may be decreasing Hispanic youths' exposure to the military lifestyle and their knowledge of the opportunities available through military service. Military downsizing and base closings may have some previously unnoted consequences. Hispanic leaders noted that often 'high quality' Hispanic youth sought military experience in order to later obtain defense industry jobs closer to their homes.

- **Role models:** The importance of role models was mentioned repeatedly in the interviews. The leaders suggested that if Hispanic youth were exposed to positive military role models, they might be more inclined to consider enlisting. They pointed out that youth today are less likely to know or be related to military veterans than were previous generations, and the veterans they do know may have had negative experiences in the Vietnam War or in the early All Volunteer Force (AVF). In fact, many youth may be unfamiliar with the high enlistment standards of today's force, and therefore unprepared to meet them if they do decide to enlist. The leaders recommended more military involvement in school settings and, in light of the importance of family and parental authority in Hispanic cultures, emphasized the need to educate Hispanic parents about the opportunities and value of military service.

The Marine Corps' Recruiting Success with Mexican-American Youth

As a final stage of this study, officials at different levels in the Marine Corps' recruiting command structure were asked for their thoughts on why that Service has been particularly successful in recruiting Hispanic youth. Given the conclusions discussed above which highlight the importance of Mexican-American enlistment propensity, these discussions focused specifically on recruiting in the Southwestern U.S., where most Hispanics are of Mexican-American descent. Again, numerous enlightening points were raised in this dialogue, and the reader is urged to read that section of the report in its entirety. In general, however, there were three main themes which Marine Corps recruiting personnel described as keys to their success:

- **Pre-screening of recruits and recruiters:** The Marine Corps' prepares prospective enlistees for the kinds of tests and questions they will face during formal enlistment at a Military Entrance Processing Station (MEPS). Specifically, they use aggressive pre-screening techniques including "pop quizzes" intended to simulate Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) questions, health questions (e.g., Have you ever had asthma?), questions about citizenship status (the Marine Corps can accept legal aliens), and probes for motivation levels (e.g., Do you want to be successful?). Using these techniques, recruiters are able to more efficiently weed out unqualified and unmotivated prospective enlistees.

- **Emphasis on espirit de corps:** In addition to their systematic approach, the Marines emphasize that recruiting is rooted in the same ethos which guides all the missions that the Corps undertakes: "You will not fail." This precept leads to a combat-like, fast-paced approach to recruiting. Moreover, since the Marine Corps cannot offer prospective enlistees educational benefits or other monetary incentives as frequently as the other Services, they "sell" enlistment on the basis of intangible goals such as courage, honor, and commitment to one's unit and to one's country. In addition, the recruiters attempt to identify each prospective enlistee's individual needs--an approach derived from concepts of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs--in order to emphasize specific rewards of service in the Marine Corps. For example, recent immigrants or youth from families low in socio-economic status are able to identify the Marine Corps' ability to meet basic needs such as regular meals, clean housing and safety. Recruiters working with Mexican-Americans have noted the importance of values such as challenge, education, and self-respect/self-discipline in attracting high quality youth. They point out that being a Marine is like being a member of the elite Special Forces in other Services (e.g., Navy Seals, Army Airborne, etc.), but that all Marines are treated with equal respect without regard to race, color, creed, or gender. The "sex appeal" of the Marine Corps uniform is also not overlooked by recruiters as an attraction to some youth.

- **Family values:** The Marine Corps goes to great lengths not to treat recruits like a "number." Recruiters take the time to speak to parents and do so in Spanish where possible. They stay involved with the recruit all the way through boot camp. In fact, the recruiters write three letters to the new recruits while they are at boot camp, as well as a letter to the recruit's parents. The goal is to reduce buyer's remorse. Recruiters note that their recruits are less likely to "flake" because they have joined more for a pride of belonging then just for money for college. Getting the family involved has a number of benefits, including lower attrition, and better preparedness. Once a Hispanic family has agreed to let a son or daughter join the Service, recruiters contend,

the youth does not come back until the commitment is met. Similarly, if a mother or father comes to the recruiter seeking information about her/his son or daughter, the recruiters will go out of their way to track the information down, to the point that one recruiter mentioned driving the parent to the nearby military base to meet the recruit. The buddy system can be used to bring friends into the service together, which increases the likelihood that the recruits will make it through training. Moreover, the Marines seek out opportunities to participate in community events and to interact with key influencers in the Hispanic community, and they make a concerted effort to maintain continuous and consistent relations with contacts in places like high schools and community centers. Finally, Hispanic youth interested in the Marine Corps may be seeking to find people outside their "blood" family with whom they belong and with whom they feel protected. For many, the Marine Corps offers such a family.

Suggestions

The exploratory nature of this study makes it difficult to present firm recommendations about how to increase Hispanic youths' interest in military service. We therefore offer several suggestions for the military to consider.

1. Adopt the best practices of the Services to improve Hispanic propensity. This report found that the Marine Corps has been particularly successful in maintaining Hispanic--especially Mexican-American--interest in that Service, and presented extensive examination of the Marines' approach to recruiting and retention. Mention was also made of the Army's historical attraction to Puerto Rican youths, and of the perceptions of the other Services held by many Hispanics. The most successful strategies of each Service should be reviewed by the others. Recruiting and accession policymakers should consider ways of improving all the Services' attractiveness to Hispanics, and also, ways of melding the most effective practices of each Service into a single overarching approach.

2. Develop and nurture the relationship between the military and the Hispanic community. Perhaps the most valuable information in this report is that concerning the views of Hispanic leaders on the relationship between the Hispanic community and the military. A positive by-product of this information-gathering may be that an opportunity has been opened to develop further interaction between Hispanic community leaders and the U.S. Armed Forces.

3. Research on the Hispanic recruitment market should include analysis and tracking of the different subgroups within the Hispanic community. As we have seen, it is problematic to conceive of the Hispanic community as singular and unified. Yet most research on Hispanic enlistment propensity--indeed, most research on Hispanic military participation in general--refers to "Hispanics" as if they constituted a monolithic ethnic and cultural group. It is important to know, for example, what differences exist between Mexican-American and Puerto Rican experiences with the military. Our recruitment capability will be improved in the future if we obtain a better understanding of these differences. It would also be valuable to know more about regional, socio-economic status, immigration, nation of origin, etc., variations with the Hispanic community.

4. Standardize and differentiate the identification of Hispanics in military records. Clearly, if subgroup differences are to be tracked, it will be necessary to ensure that military records are consistent in how they identify individuals as Hispanic, and that they allow individuals to be differentiated according to subgroup membership. Currently, as was discussed, Services differ in their personnel identification practices, and different forms completed by a single individual may even vary in how racial/ethnic information is elicited. It would be desirable to determine where in the enlistment process it would be best to allow unobtrusive self-identification.

5. Continue to refine the measurement of enlistment propensity. Research (such as the current information collected by YATS) should continue to evaluate both the material rewards of service (i.e., pay, training, educational funds) and the more intrinsic, value-driven ones as well (i.e., citizen obligation, challenge, honor, personal growth). Enlistment propensity should be conceived not only in terms of the choices that youths make for themselves, but as something that is shaped by a youth's community and life circumstances. As our review of Marine Corps recruiting practices suggests, advertising budgets and sizeable educational packages may not be as important for attracting some youth as sincerely reaching out to the communities where youth, their parents, and their other loved ones live.

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Introduction

U.S. Census Bureau population projections indicate that by 2005 Hispanics will surpass African-Americans as the largest minority group in the nation. If Puerto Rico is included in the estimates, Hispanics may already be the largest minority. These rapid demographic changes mean that an increasingly large proportion of the U.S. youth potentially eligible for military enlistment are and will be Hispanic. However, while Hispanic males have maintained the highest level of interest in military service (relative to white and African-American male youth) since 1992, 1997 survey findings show a 5.9 percentage point decrease from their interest levels of 1996 and a 6.8 percentage point drop in interest since 1995.

The present study examines Hispanic youth interest in, or "propensity" for, military service. Most of the information responds to seven general questions.

- Who is Hispanic?
- How interested are Hispanic youth in military service?
- Why is declining Hispanic youth propensity important?
- How would Hispanic community leaders explain the recent decline in propensity among Hispanic youth?
- How could the military increase Hispanic youth propensity for military service?
- Why is the Marine Corps successful in recruiting Hispanics?
- How do socio-economic factors and individual needs/values combine to influence Hispanic youth propensity?

The report is based on a wide range of information gathered from diverse sources. These sources included: A review of the literature on the Hispanic community and on enlistment propensity; discussions with officials at the recruiting commands of the four military Services, with a special focus on the Marine Corps; structured interviews with leaders of 12 organizations concerned with Hispanic issues; DoD personnel data and Census Bureau studies; and data from the Youth Attitude Tracking Study.

Thus, this report relies on a broad and somewhat eclectic approach, involving both survey and depth-interview methodologies, combinations of primary and secondary data, and employing both quantitative and qualitative analysis. This approach was necessary because the research questions posed--dealing as they do with issues of Hispanic identity, shifting population trends, youth attitudes and values, military recruitment policies, etc.--require attention both to broad societal factors, and to factors at the individual level like attitudes, values, and motivations. Hispanic enlistment issues, moreover, have not previously received much specific research attention, so it was necessary for this study to conduct exploratory as well as explanatory types of analyses. Because of this broad approach, the report should be of interest to a wide variety of people, including recruiting and Accession Policy officials, marketing analysts, recruiters, and researchers interested in the U.S. Hispanic population's propensity for military service.

It is important to note from the outset that, while the overall concern of this study is Hispanic propensity for military service, there is a need for close attention to how terms like "Hispanic" and "propensity" are employed. For while it is generally accepted that Hispanics, as a

group, have manifested declining enlistment propensity in recent years, it is not at all clear what these aggregated data mean. For example, have all types of Hispanics, such as Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Cubans, South Americans, etc., shown declining interest in military service, or just one or a few of these groups? Similarly, has declining propensity affected all young members of these groups, or is it limited to certain segments, such as affluent and college-bound youths? If the ultimate goal is to construct effective policies that can counteract declining propensity trends, it is crucial to settle these basic definitional questions before proceeding with the analysis. Thus, the report begins with a deceptively simple question: Who is Hispanic?

Who is Hispanic?

Although research on military manpower issues often includes the category "Hispanic" along with the categories "White" and "Black," there may be certain problems of commensurability inherent in this kind of racial/ethnic categorization. This is because Hispanic individuals may be of any race, and therefore the categories are not mutually exclusive: i.e., an individual can be both Hispanic and white, or Hispanic and African-American. Moreover, the methods used for identifying an individual as Hispanic in military records may be inconsistent, and they may differ from those used by other federal agencies such as the Census Bureau. Therefore, what follows is a brief history of changing Census attempts to measure the Hispanic population and a description of how demographic information is collected by the military.

Census Bureau Definitions

Moore and Pachon (1985) note that "There has frequently been confusion as to whether Hispanics should be considered a racial minority or simply another predominantly Catholic ethnic group like the Italians or Irish" (p. 3). On the first Census, in 1790, there were three categories: free white male, free white female, and slave. This evolved into the terms "White" and "Nonwhite" used to classify individuals. Mexicans were not comfortable with these two terms and consequently in 1940 the terms were moved from the 1930's racial ("other nonwhite") subcategory to the ethnic subcategory ("persons of Spanish mother tongue"). In 1950 and 1960, the Censuses identified the Hispanic-American population as "white persons of Spanish surname" but only in five states of the "Mexican" Southwest. In 1970, for five percent of the census questionnaires the option of "persons of both Spanish surname and Spanish mother tongue" was provided. Then, in 1980, all Census questionnaires carried a question asking if the individual was of "Spanish origin or descent."

In 1990, pursuant to the Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) Statistical Directive 15, "Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting," effective January 1, 1980, five racial categories were developed and used. The expansion of the two racial categories (White, Nonwhite) to five categories (White, Black, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and "Other Race") and the inclusion of the ethnicity question (Of Hispanic Origin, Not of Hispanic Origin) led to the discovery of a surprising fact, "over 40 percent of the nation's 22 million Hispanics are not willing to identify themselves as Black or White" (Sandor, 1994). Of the people who checked the "Other Race" category, 98 percent later identified themselves as of Hispanic origin. Hispanics apparently had not had a category with which they could identify. A further observation was that these two questions could be combined to create the categories "White, not of Hispanic origin," and "Black, not of Hispanic origin," "Hispanic," "Asian or Pacific Islander," and "American Indian or Alaskan Native."

In preparation for the 2000 Census, research was funded to pilot-test different race/ethnicity questions. The OMB released its decisions concerning revision of the Statistical Policy Directive No. 15, "Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting." The Bureau of the Census in the 2000 decennial census will use the revisions. Other federal programs are expected to adopt the revisions as soon as possible, but not later than

January 1, 2003, for use in household surveys, administrative forms and records, and other data collections. The two modifications are: 1) the Asian or Pacific Islander category will be separated into "Asian" and "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander;" and 2) the term "Hispanic" will be changed to "Hispanic or Latino". Thus, there will be five categories for data on race: 1) American Indian or Alaska Native; 2) Asian; 3) Black or African American; 4) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; and 5) White. There are two categories for data on ethnicity: "Hispanic or Latino" and "Not Hispanic or Latino". The change to the ethnicity question was made in order to improve response rates because "Hispanic" is the commonly used term in the Eastern U.S. while "Latino" is more common in the Western U.S.

OMB provided additional direction by indicating on page 10 that:

1) *When self-identification is used, the two-question format should be used, with the race question allowing the reporting of more than one race. Further, the Hispanic origin question should precede the race question.*
2) *When self-identification is not feasible or appropriate, a combined question may be used and should include a separate Hispanic category co-equal with the other categories.*
3) *When the combined question is used, an attempt should be made, when appropriate, to record ethnicity and race or multiple races, but the option to indicate only one category is acceptable.*

Hispanic/Latino is defined as: "A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race." The term, "Spanish origin," can be used in addition to "Hispanic or Latino."

Hispanic origin was derived from answers to questionnaire item 7, asked of all persons, on the 1990 Census. Persons of Hispanic origin are those who classify themselves in one of the specific Hispanic origin categories listed on the questionnaire--"Mexican," "Puerto Rican," or "Cuban"-- as well as those who indicated that they were of "other Hispanic/Spanish" origin. Origin can be viewed as the "ancestry, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States." "Other Hispanic/Spanish" origin are those whose origins are in Spain, the Spanish-speaking countries of Central or South America, or the Dominican Republic, or they are persons of Hispanic origin identifying themselves generally as Spanish, Spanish-American, Hispanic, Hispano, Latino, and so on. Write-in country of origin information is coded only for sample data. Generally, countries south of Panama are considered South American while countries north of Panama are considered Central American. The Dominican Republic is generally the only Caribbean Island coded as Hispanic. The Census Bureau notes that, as with any complex topic, there will be exceptions to the guidelines involving Hispanic origin coding.

The Term Hispanic

The term Hispanic refers to a wide range of cultures, beliefs, practices and traditions. As noted, however, all Hispanic groups do not universally accept the word. "Hispanic" comes from the ancient Latin word for Spain, "Hispania,"but often included cultures found on the entire Iberian Peninsula (Portuguese, Catalonians, Basques, etc.). Its application to the Americas originated in its use by the Royal Academy of Spanish Language ("Hispanoamericanos") to

define populations living south of the Rio Grande (Marin & Marin, 1991). Other terms used to describe Hispanics include but are not limited to: Latino/Latina, La Raza, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed, Latin, Spanish, Latin American, Chicano, Mexican, Mexican-American, Mayan, Tejano and Nuyorikan.

An important observation for individuals concerned with the study of Hispanics is that few Hispanics would choose a collective term of self-designation (Moore & Pachon, 1985). Such a collective term tends to emerge when people of Hispanic origin living next to each other (Puerto Ricans and Mexicans) are lumped together by the majority culture in which they are embedded. Many Hispanics have viewed the use of the term suspiciously because it may be a mask for political manipulation (Moore & Pachon, 1985). However, at least one author, Padilla (1985), views the emergence of the term as a positive indicator of the American experience as the new ethnicity mixes and merges with others in large American cities.

More recently, Robinson (1998) has asserted that there is not a common Latino subculture in the U.S., and she goes on to delineate 17 different subcultures. She views the label Hispanic as obscuring the enormous diversity among people who come from some two dozen countries. Valdes and Seoane (1995) also note that use of the term Hispanic varies with the number of generations a family has been in the U.S. Recent immigrants identify with terms that reflect their place of origin (i.e., Mexican, Guatemalan, Nicaraguan), the second generation begins to identify with pan-ethnic names such as Hispanic, and later generations begin to simply call themselves Americans. But while the U.S. has a long history of fully assimilating its diverse immigrant groups, the proximity of Latin America to North America means that many immigrants are reluctant to completely abandon their native languages and culture, and in fact may view their bi-culturalism (especially in light of burgeoning North-South trade) as an economic and social asset.

While the term Hispanic had been used since 1960 when the Congressional Hispanic Caucus was formed, it did not reach national consciousness until it was included in a presidential proclamation. In 1968 Senator Joseph Montoya of New Mexico requested President Lyndon Johnson to declare the week beginning September 15 as "National Hispanic Week," an event to be celebrated annually. The term Hispanic was intended as a substitute for more specific ethnic designations. The term Latino was used in place of the term Mexican by the founders of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929. It is probably the preferred self-identifier, including people indigenous to Latin America, but excluding those who came to the U.S. directly from Spain or Portugal. The prevalence of differences within the Hispanic community suggests the possibility that declining enlistment propensity among Hispanic youth may be related to particular subgroups, regions, or socio-economic segments within that community.

Hispanic Identification on Military Documentation

Information needed for monitoring race and ethnic information in the armed Services enlisted population is initially captured by questions on two forms completed by recruiters: 1) United States Military Entrance and Processing Command (USMEPCOM) Form 714A, "Request for Examination"; and 2) Department of Defense (DoD) Form 1966/1, "Record of Military

Processing - Armed Forces of the United States." The Form 714A, question 7a, asks the recruiter to indicate the applicant's Racial Category as either (1) White/Caucasian, (2) Black/Negro/African American, (3) Oriental/Asian/Pacific Islander, (4) American Indian/Alaskan Native or (5) Other (Specify). Question 7b asks for an Ethnic Category. Question 7c asks if the applicant is Spanish/Hispanic. For the Form 1966/1 applicants are asked under question 7a to indicate a Racial Category as either (1) American Indian/Alaskan Native, (2) Black, Negro, African American, (3) Oriental/Asian/Pacific Islander, (4) White/Caucasian, or (5) Other (Specify). Part 7b again asks for the Ethnic Category with subsection 1 asking for a yes/no response to "Spanish/Hispanic?" while subsection 2 asks for a specified "other." Discussions with recruiters determined that frequently applicants of Hispanic origin will be immigrant aliens or U.S. naturalized. For these individuals, the recruiter will look at either the place of birth or country of origin to identify their ethnicity (See Form 714A, Item 15, for Place of Birth and Question 3 for Citizenship, or Form 1966/1, question 15, for Place of Birth and Question 5 for Citizenship). An additional source of information about an applicant's race/ethnicity is DD Form 2280 "Armed Forces Fingerprint Card." Interestingly, Hispanic ethnicity is here included under "White", where respondents are requested to include Mexicans and Latinos under "W" for "White." The form also includes Place of Birth.

How the recruit is asked to identify with a race and ethnicity appears to be dependent upon the guidance of the individual Services and also the commanders at the various recruiting and MEPS stations (Jones, 1996). The Services provide in-service training on this issue for their recruiters through the Non-Commissioned Officers in Charge (NCOIC).

Another mechanism by which the Services are able to provide race and ethnicity data is through the Equal Opportunity Program and its Affirmative Action Plans. Under this program, each Service member is given a representation code. These racial and ethnic designation categories (or REDCATs) mirror those categories mandated under OMB Directive 15, but expand the ethnic categories. Hispanics may fall into five ethnic categories (Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Latin American, or other Spanish descent). It is interesting to note that the Other Hispanic category includes all others of Hispanic heritage not previously listed, i.e., from Spain, the Philippines, etc. There is considerable variance among the DoD manpower planners, Equal Opportunity offices, individual Services, and Hispanic organizations concerning who is included in this Other Hispanic category.

The preceding discussion was important for laying the groundwork for this and future studies of Hispanic participation in the military. Careful attention must be paid to how the term is being applied and operationalized in order to ensure comparability in data analyses. One recurrent observation by individuals responsible for providing accurate data analyses concerning the race and ethnic representation of the military Services is that the proportion of Hispanics currently reported does not reflect the actual number of Hispanics in the military (Lehnus, personal communication, May, 1998). Depending upon the reasons the proportion of Hispanics in the military is not accurately portrayed, a model of enlistment propensity may need to take into account individual differences influencing Hispanic interest in military service.

How Interested Are Hispanic Youth in Military Service?

Recent Data From the Youth Attitude Tracking Study

Each year since 1975 the DoD has conducted the Youth Attitude Tracking Study (YATS) and has published a report based on the results. YATS data and reports are used by military recruiting officials and members of Congress as key informational tools for assessing future career plans and military perceptions of American youth. Information from this survey of over 10,000 youth between the ages of 16 and 24 provides a means for identifying emerging trends or changing characteristics of those individuals who will makeup our future armed forces (Hintze et al., 1997).

Early in the YATS interview, before any discussion of military service, respondents are asked what they expect to be doing after high school or, for those no longer in high school, what they will be doing in the next few years. Those who include military service among their future activities are considered to have an "unaided mention" of military service. The percent of youth providing an unaided mention of military service is reported as "unaided propensity." Later in the YATS interview, respondents are asked the likelihood they will be on active duty in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. Although the order of the Services named varies from one respondent to another, each respondent is asked about each Service. The percent of youth saying they will "definitely" or "probably" be on active duty in at least one of these four Services is reported as "Active Composite Propensity."

Information about youth military propensity is also available from a national study of high school seniors conducted each year by the University of Michigan's Institute for Survey Research. The *Monitoring the Future* (MTF) study assesses propensity for military service by asking respondents, "How likely is it that you will do each of the following things after high school?" "Serve in the Armed Forces" is one of the options to which the respondents respond: "definitely won't; probably won't; probably will; and, definitely will. " MTF has certain differences from YATS, relating mainly to the fact that it samples only high school seniors (rather than 16-24 year olds as YATS does) whose career plans are often firmer than those of younger youths. Later, this report will examine how MTF's data on high school seniors can shed light on other enlistment propensity data.

Figure 1 presents composite active propensity levels (based upon data from the 1997 YATS) for the period 1984 to 1997 for 16-21 year- old men and women who have completed no more than two years' post-secondary education. The age group 16-21 is used because it represents the age range from which most enlistees are drawn (i.e., responses from 22-24 year olds are not presented, since they fall outside the prime recruiting market). The YATS sample is representative of the U.S. 16-21 year old population. Propensity estimates are usually within a percentage point of true population values and will nearly always be within two percentage points for the overall population. Estimates for Hispanic propensity are more variable due to the smaller number of Hispanics in the sample. However, they will usually be within 2.5 percentage points and will nearly always be within 5 percentage points. The large sample size of YATS is intended to increase the precision with which changes in a particular population of interest may be identified.

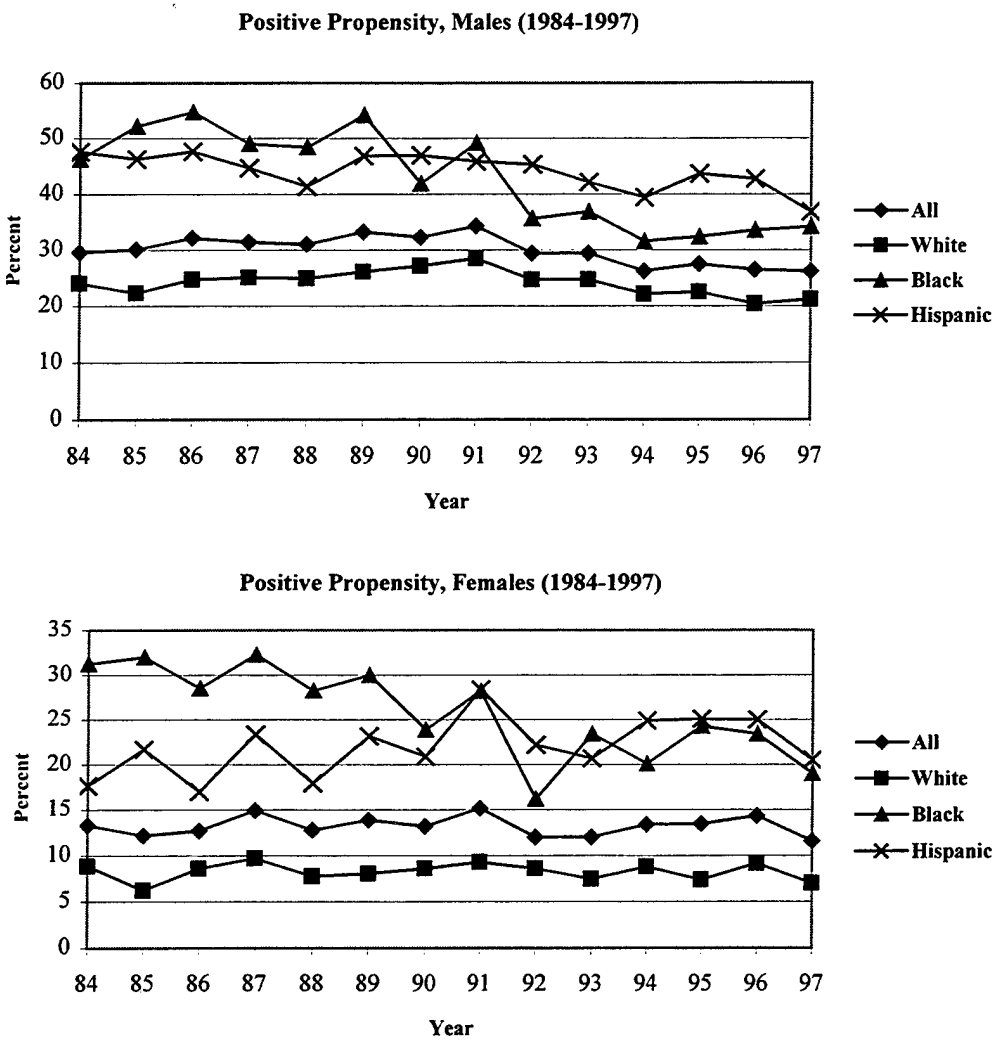


FIGURE 1. Composite Active (Positive) Propensity for 16-21 Year-Old Males and Females, 1984-1997
Source: YATS, 1997 (DMDC)

Since the early 1990s, Hispanic men and women have exhibited the highest levels of propensity for military service. Prior to 1992, African-American men and women had the highest rates of enlistment propensity relative to other groups. While the sharp decline in interest among African-Americans is not the subject of this report, comparing the trends for African-American men to those of Hispanics offers important insights into potential causes of the recent decline.

A comparison of the propensity levels for African-American and Hispanic men identifies sharp decreases in African-American men's propensity in 1990 and 1992. Hispanic males moved past African-American males to become the most propensed group of males during this

time period. African-American male propensity appears to have reached a plateau in the late 1990s, remaining approximately 10 percent higher than the white male levels. Investigations of the African-American decline in propensity did not lead to universally accepted answers, but changing attitudes among African-American youth were posited as a key factor (Morris, Bositis, Gropman, & Buckner, 1996). However, comparing the jagged downward path of the African-American propensity line to the downward, relatively smooth Hispanic male propensity line suggests that factors influencing the decline in propensity are different for the two minority groups. Still, both the Hispanic and African-American propensity lines are declining, moving toward the stabilized lower level of white males' propensity. Thus, there is a possibility that declining interest in military service among minorities may actually reflect the fact that ethnic differences are declining among contemporary American youth.

Previous Research on Propensity Factors

While broad measures of enlistment propensity are important and reveal intriguing aggregate trends, in and of themselves these measurements can tell relatively little about the factors underlying youth attitudes and proclivities. In short, propensity measures tell whether interest in military service is rising, falling, or remaining stable, but further analysis is needed in order to understand why such trends are occurring. Along these lines, while the trends we have just examined suggest ethnic differences in enlistment propensity (and possibly the waning of such differences), other analysts have found that many of the predictors of enlistment propensity are related more to socio-economic status (Lehnus & Lancaster, 1997) than to ethnic background. In general, according to YATS and other data sources, as educational aspirations, educational prospects, and career prospects of youth increase, propensity for military service decreases. For example, high school seniors most likely to go to college have a lower propensity for military service than those less likely to go to college. Likewise, employed youth have a lower propensity for military service than do youth looking for work, and students with jobs have a lower propensity than students looking for jobs. Also, in general, as youth become older, their propensity for service decreases. Youth asked to explain a decrease in interest in military service usually mentioned the choice of an alternative (e.g., started college, obtained a job) rather than suggesting they were rejecting the military. Other studies have shown that increased opportunities and benefits offered by the Services (Manigart & Prensky, 1982), and high youth unemployment rates (Dale & Gilroy, 1984) attract youth to military service. Unfortunately, these studies have not always differentiated Hispanic youth from the general youth population.

Additional support for the importance of socio-economic factors in understanding youth propensity for military service is offered by qualitative studies. A recent series of in-depth interviews with young males identified through YATS records examined not only the types of youth interested in military service, but also the decision-making processes that led them to enlist or not to enlist (Berkowitz, Perry, Giambo, Wilson & Lehnus, 1997). The researchers initially divided the young men to be interviewed into four groups which they labeled: "joiners" (those most likely to enter the military), "shifters" (those who had seriously considered the military, but at the time of the interview were not likely to join), "fence-sitters" (those for whom military service was still an option), and "non-joiners" (those who had never considered service and were unlikely to join). Also, three youth segments were identified: "privileged college students and college-bound youth," "constrained non-college youth," and "less privileged striving youth."

The Berkowitz, Perry, Giambo, Wilson & Lehnus, (1997) study found three decision-making styles roughly corresponding to these socio-economic segments. The privileged group, for example, is most aptly described as using a "rational" decision-making model, in that they use the opportunities and information available to them to make career decisions. They are not likely to join the military due to negative reactions to the military's hierarchical image, and because they simply have other opportunities and choices at their disposal. The second group of youth, the constrained non-college youth, may be either "diffuse" decision-makers or their life choices may be "foreclosed" by exigencies beyond their control like poverty, illness, and family deaths. "Diffuse" decision-makers in this group may be more receptive to military service because it offers an escape hatch from their lower socio-economic circumstances which may include constant pressures for involvement in illicit activities. Other constrained non-college youth may be "foreclosed" from even thinking of escaping from their current circumstances, since they may have families, sick relatives, or other obligations that prevent them from leaving home. The third segment of youth, less privileged "strivers," have more opportunities then their constrained counterparts, but fewer resources at their disposal than more privileged youth. They therefore represent the youth segment most frequently and seriously interested in military service due to the opportunities for education and skill learning offered there. Overall, this depth-interview study provides additional evidence for the importance of socioeconomic factors as influences upon youth propensity for service. Interviews with Hispanic youth are contrasted with interviews with Whites and Blacks to illustrate various aspects of decision-making important to Hispanics (such as health concerns, the need to obtain a green card before pursuing opportunities and the desire to stay near home).

Enlistment Motivation

As can be seen in Figure 1, nearly twice as many Hispanic males express positive propensity as White, non-Hispanics males. However, Hispanics are less likely than Blacks or White non-Hispanics to recall military advertising (Hintze et al., 1997). This is because advertising awareness is correlated to educational achievement and Hispanics have far lower levels of educational achievement. Hispanics are also less likely to have been influenced in their career choices by someone who has had military experience (Lehnus, 1998). This is related to the fact that a large portion of Hispanic youth are immigrants and are unlikely to have elder relatives who have served in the U.S. Armed Forces. Taken together, these facts may suggest that Hispanic enlistment propensity is influenced by factors somewhat different than those that influence the enlistment propensity of other racial/ethnic groups.

In order to investigate if Hispanic youth differed from other youth in the reasons they mention for joining the Service, YATs data from the 1996 administration were analyzed for racial/ethnic differences. Table 1 contrasts the proportions of males aged 16-21 in each racial/ethnic category (i.e., Hispanic, White, African-American) who cited a particular motivation for enlisting.

TABLE 1
Top Four Reasons for Joining Military Service Among 16-21 Year-Old Males, by Race/Ethnicity

Enlistment Motivation	%Hispanic (N=542)	%White (N=3246)	%Black (N=479)
Money for Education	30.8	32.0	34.5
Job Training	29.7	25.5	23.0
Duty to Country	12.8	11.3	8.1
Pay	8.7	12.0	17.5

Source: YATS, 1997 (DMDC)

As this table suggests, Hispanic, White, and African-American males do not differ very much in their motivations for enlisting. Over 55percent of males in all three groups cite "money for education" or "job training" as their main enlistment motivation. Moreover, the percentages of each group citing each of these top two motivations are very close. Over 20 percent of each group, however, cited either "duty to country" or "pay" as one of their main reasons for enlisting, and it is here that some group differences emerge. Hispanic and white youth, for example, are slightly more likely than black youth to cite "duty to country" as one of their main reasons for enlisting. This is a suggestion that some Hispanic youth may be attracted to military service not just by the need for money, or other instrumental motivation, but out of a sense of citizen obligation.

Hispanic Enlistment Propensity: A Closer Look

To sum up this report so far, we can say with relative certainty that Hispanic enlistment propensity, though historically strong, is declining. But while all types of youth basically resemble each other in terms of their motivations to serve in the military, one should not assume that all youths *turn away* from military service for the same reasons. Moreover, in light of the great diversity within the Hispanic community itself, it is reasonable to speculate that there is variation among different sectors of the Hispanic youth population with respect to their declining interest in military service. At least, the evidence reviewed so far suggests that we need a finer-grained understanding of Hispanic propensity than has until now been available. Thus, we now turn to a more microscopic consideration of Hispanic propensity, examining such issues as the propensity of "high quality" versus "low quality" youths; the significance of "unaided mention" of military service among Hispanic youth; and Hispanic subgroup differences with respect to military service and perceptions of the military in general.

"High-Quality" vs. "Low-Quality" Youth

Assessing whether the general population is interested in military service may not be as important as assessing the degree to which the qualified population of potential enlistees is interested in military service. For while the enlistment propensity data discussed above are based on representative samples of the entire youth population, the military has, since the early 1980s, enjoyed the ability to select recruits from the relatively narrow slice of "high quality" youths in the population. Declining enlistment propensity is a problem in itself, but it takes on added significance in the extent to which it restricts the Services' ability to enlist "high quality" youth.

Figure 2 presents the propensity levels of "high quality" male Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks for the period of 1989 to1997 based upon YATS data. "High quality" recruits are defined (here and elsewhere) as those who not only have a high school degree, but who have scored in categories I-IIIA of the Armed Forces Qualification Test (an entrance examination given by the Services to all potential recruits) (Orvis & Gahart, 1985). AFQT scores are not available for YATS respondents. However, statistical procedures, based on aptitude-related information like school grades, courses taken, and parents' education, have been developed to estimate the propensity of respondents likely to score above the 50th percentile. Scores in categories I-IIIA indicate that the individual scored in the 50th percentile or better. The propensity level for high quality Hispanics in 1997 was 31 percent (compared to 37 percent for the general Hispanic civilian 16-21 year old population). The percentage point decrease between 1996 and 1997 for Hispanics was virtually the same as that for the whole population. This suggests that the decrease in propensity is not limited to individuals who are ineligible for military enlistment. Rather, the decrease appears to be affecting higher quality Hispanic youths as well.

Examination of the trend line suggests there has been a general decrease in positive propensity for high quality Hispanic males since 1989 with the exception of an apparent increase in interest in 1995 and 1996. The decrease in 1997 appears to be more a return to the general decline in propensity occurring between 1989 and 1994.

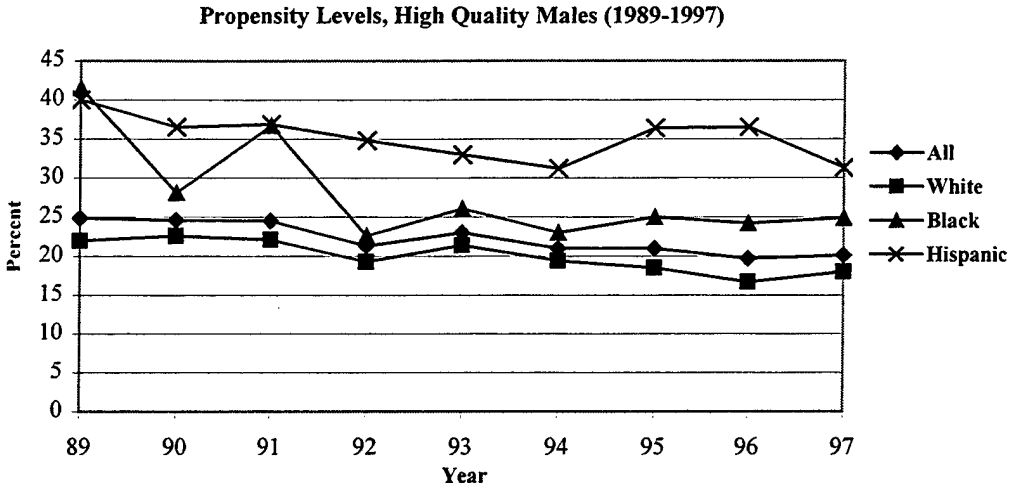


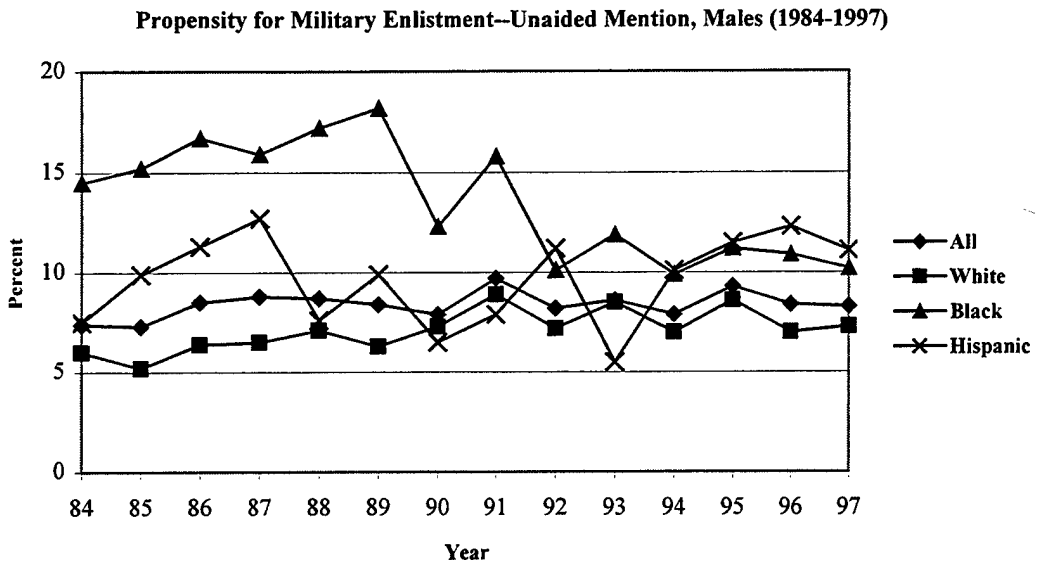
FIGURE 2. Positive Propensity Levels for High Quality Males, 1989-1997
Sources: YATS, 1997 (DMDC) and RAND (Orvis & Gahart, 1985; Orvis, Sastry, & McDonald, 1996)

Unaided Mention as a Measure of Propensity

Thus far, support has been found for a decrease in Hispanic male positive propensity from two separate analyses. A third indicator of propensity, unaided mention, is available from YATS data. When the respondent, as opposed to the interviewer, raises the possibility of military service, the respondent is said to have provided an unaided mention of propensity for military service. Figure 3 illustrates the level of unaided mentions by racial/ethnic group occurring between 1984 and 1997 for males and females between the ages of 16 and 21. As can be seen, unaided propensity for Hispanics appears to have dropped in 1997 for both males and females.

Hispanic male unaided mention decreased slightly to 11 percent from a 1996 level of 12 percent. Assessment of the pattern of unaided-mention propensity suggests that propensity declined precipitously for Hispanic males in 1993 but rose from 1994 to 1996, declining only slightly in 1997. Hispanic males evidence greater propensity for military service on this measure than African-Americans or Whites.

Hispanic female unaided mention decreased from 3 percent in 1996 to 2 percent in 1997. Hispanic females are behind African-American females on this measure of propensity for military service. However, the most significant point to be drawn from Figure 3 is that Hispanic males evidence the highest rates of propensity for military service even when they are not prompted to include military service in their plans for the future.



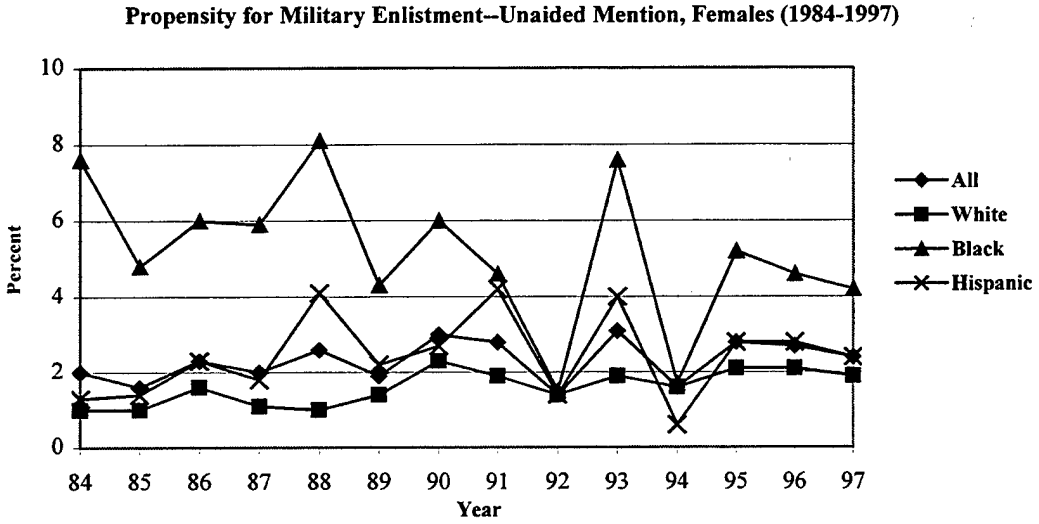


FIGURE 3. Unaided Mention Propensity for Military Service, Males and Females, 1984-1997
Source: YATS, 1997 (DMDC)

Focusing on High School Seniors

Another source of information concerning Hispanic propensity is the *Monitoring the Future* (MTF) study, mentioned earlier. Bachman, Freedman-Doan, Segal, and O'Malley (1997) and Segal (personal communication, May, 1998) noted that high school senior Hispanic male propensity dropped slightly from 1992 to 1993, rose thereafter to 1996, and then dropped in 1997, but not to the 1993 level. From 1992 to 1997 there has been an increase in high school senior Hispanic women who say they will enter the military. Hispanic male propensity ranged

between approximately 21 and 30 percent between 1989 and 1997 and for Hispanic females ranged between 6 and 15 percent during the same period according to this survey (see Bachman et al., in review). Decreases in MTF measures of propensity are of interest to the military because MTF (unlike YATS) includes individuals who have already agreed to enter the military.

Now that we have established that Hispanic enlistment propensity is declining, and that this trend is not a statistical artifact, the question arises as to just how important this trend may be. We will address this by examining the size of the Hispanic youth population, its representation in the various Armed Services, its heterogeneity, and the propensity levels of the various sub-groups of the Hispanic community.

Declining Propensity and Hispanic Participation in the Armed Forces

Hispanics are an Increasing Proportion of American Youth

In and of themselves, declining propensity rates may not be a particular cause for concern. If, for example, changing manpower requirements determine that fewer non-prior service accessions are needed (e.g., due to a reduction in force size), declining propensity in the general youth population may not pose a staffing problem. Alternatively, declining propensity rates could be offset by rising numbers of youth, so applicant numbers remain stable or increase. It is important to note that the U.S. Hispanic population is growing at a rate 5 times faster than that of the general population (as estimated by the Bureau of Census based upon 1990 data not including Puerto Rico). At this rate, the Hispanic population will have grown by over 50 percent by the year 2010, and will be twice the size it is today by 2025.

Moreover, Hispanics are driving changes in U.S. demographics. Both fertility and immigration are contributing to especially rapid growth in the population of Hispanic youths. When comparisons are made between Hispanics and Non-Hispanics, 12 percent versus 7 percent are under 5, 10 percent versus 7 percent are 5 to 9 years old, 9 percent versus 7 percent are 10 to 14 years old, 9 percent versus 7 percent are 15 to 19 years old and 9 percent versus 6 percent are 20 to 24 years old. Hispanics are younger than the general population and will be for the foreseeable future. Additionally, the size of the Hispanic youth population is growing at a much faster rate than the general youth population.

Figure 4 presents the age-group distributions within the different Hispanic subgroups. As can be seen, the Mexican-American subgroup has the highest proportions of young and very young members.

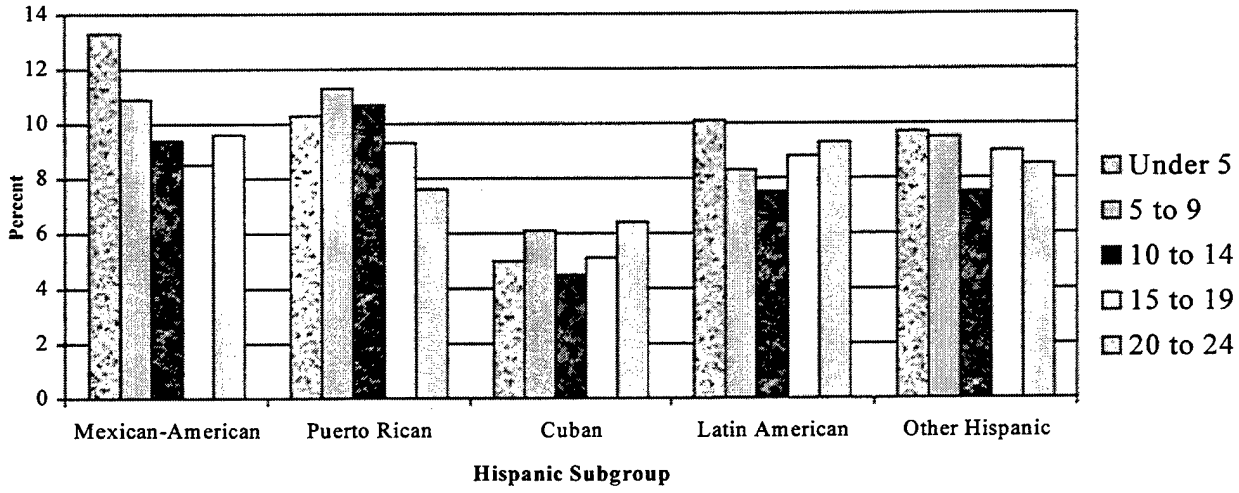


FIGURE 4. Percentage of Hispanic Subgroup Populations in Age Categories
Source: Bureau of the Census, (1996)

The Puerto Rican subgroup, on the other hand, has the highest proportion of high-school aged youths. Census Bureau estimates, however, do not include Puerto Ricans living on the island of Puerto Rico. The relative proportions of Puerto Rican youth might be different if they were included. This is important to consider because they represent a large pool of potential Hispanic recruits. In general, Figure 4 illustrates that much of the rapid growth in the Hispanic youth population is among pre-enlistment aged youth, and thus suggests that Hispanic enlistment propensity will become an even more significant issue in the years ahead.

If, as Figure 4 shows, Mexican-Americans are the youngest Hispanic population in the U.S., and thus likely to be an important source of Hispanic enlistees in the future, it is also the case that Mexicans immigrate to the U.S. at higher rates than do Hispanics from other countries. Table 2 shows the percentage of U.S. immigrants accounted for by Mexicans from 1994 to 1996, as well as the total number of Mexican immigrants in those years. Although it is not apparent in Table 2, Mexico continues to be the primary country of origin for U.S. immigrants. Other Hispanic countries with large numbers of immigrants by order of contribution to U.S. immigration (1996 number of immigrants) include: The Dominican Republic (39,604), Cuba (26,466), El Salvador (17,903), Colombia (14,283), Peru (12,871), Guatemala (8,763), and Ecuador (8,321).

TABLE 2
Percentage of Total and Number of Immigrants from Mexico, 1994-1996

Year	% of Total U.S. Immigrants	Number of Mex. Immigrants
1996	17.9	163,572
1995	12.5	89,932
1994	13.8	111,398

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, (1998)

Hispanics are an Important Proportion of the Armed Forces

According to FY1996 data provided by the Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy), 17,564 non-prior service (NPS) Hispanic men and women enlisted in the Armed Forces. This represents just under 10 percent of the total NPS accessions. Only about 7% of the active component enlisted force was Hispanic in FY96, yet this represents about 85,000 men and women. As Figure 5 shows, the proportion of our Services that is Hispanic is growing, with the Marine Corps leading the way.

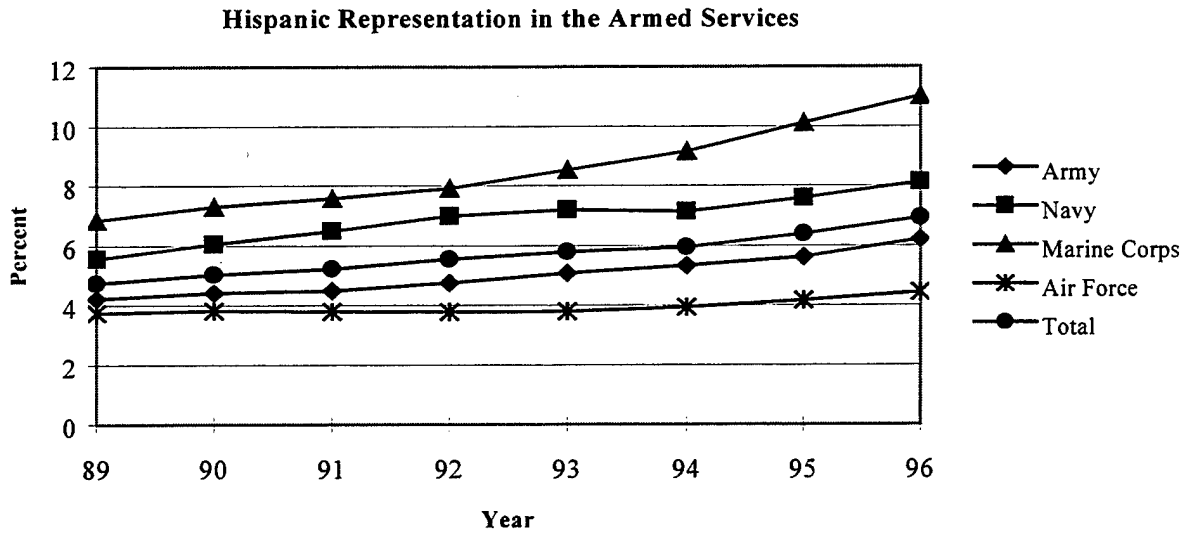


FIGURE 5. Hispanic Active Component Enlisted Members by Service, FY89-96
Source: OASD (FM&P), (1997)

Table 3 illustrates that the Navy has the largest active component of Hispanics (28,760) relative to the other military branches, while the Marine Corps has the highest proportion of Hispanics (11%). The Marine Corps experienced the largest relative percentage of NPS Hispanic applicants in FY96 (13%) while the Army had the largest absolute number of Hispanic applicants (15,359). The Army also had the largest absolute number of Hispanic NPS accessions (6,199), and the Marine Corps accepted the largest percentage of NPS Hispanic recruits (13%).

TABLE 3
Number and Percentage of Hispanic NPS Applicants, NPS Accessions, and Active Component Enlistment Accessions by Service and Percent of Service (FY96)

Service	Applicants		NPS Accessions		Active Component	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Army	15,359	9.6	6,199	8.9	25,169	6.2
Navy	11,002	11.6	5,109	11.1	28,760	8.1
Marine Corps	7,655	12.9	4,219	13.0	17,291	11.0
Air Force	4,110	7.0	2,037	6.7	13,715	4.4
Total	38,126	10.2	17,564	9.8	84,935	6.9

Source: OASD (FM&P), 1997

Hispanics are an Increasing Proportion of NPS Accessions

Given the above demographic information, it is not surprising that Hispanics are making up a significant and growing share of NPS accessions. Figure 6 uses two indicators of the proportion of Hispanics in the general population as comparison points for two indicators of the

representation of Hispanics in the Armed Forces. The lines coded as "Census" are the Census Bureau estimates (excluding Puerto Rico) of the Hispanic population. The Armed Forces, however, generally accept only youth with a high school degree; a second indicator is provided where the number of Hispanic high school dropouts for 16-24 year olds has been eliminated (labeled "Census-DO"). The proportion of the Hispanic population meeting this criterion decreases the level of representation that the Services might be expected to maintain as a portion of available population.

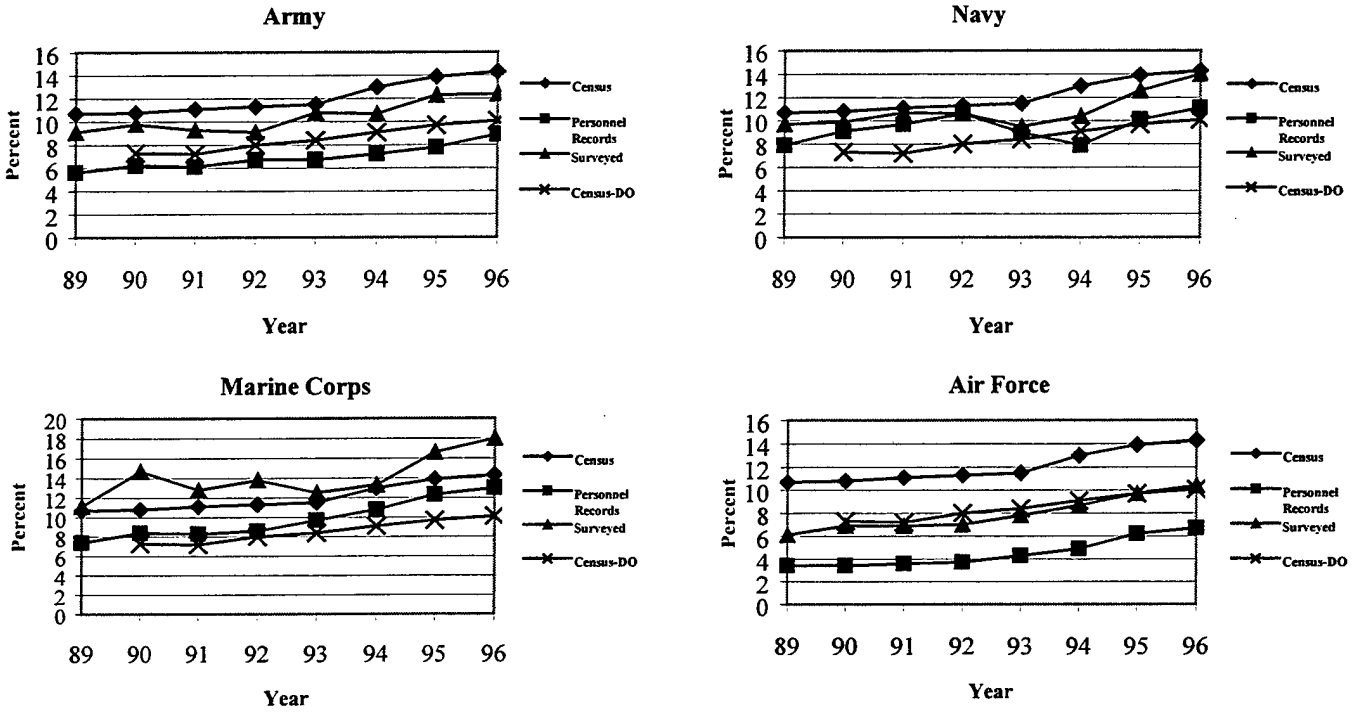


FIGURE 6. Percentage of Hispanics in the Services Compared to Census Figures, FY89-96
Sources: Bureau of the Census, (1996); Lehnus, (1998)

Two indicators of the proportion of Hispanics in military service are provided. "Personnel Records" represents the number of Hispanics who are identified as such on their personnel records. This measure is often not reliable because there are differences in how the Services obtain and code information about an individual's ethnicity. The second measure of the proportion of Hispanics in the military is referred to as "Surveyed." These data are taken from the Survey of Recruit Socioeconomic Backgrounds (SES) that is given to a sample of new recruits while they are in Basic Training. The SES sample is representative of new recruits on race/ethnicity, making results from it generalizable to the race/ethnicity of the whole population of new recruits. Another advantage of the SES is that studies of Hispanics conducted by the Census Bureau found that the best way to increase the responsiveness of Hispanics was to directly ask them their ethnicity. The Surveyed ethnicity line probably represents a "truer" indicator of the proportion of Hispanics in the military Services.

Comparison of the available population of high school educated Hispanic youth (Census-DO) to the proportion of NPS recruits of Hispanic ethnicity indicates that Hispanic accessions

into all of the Services exceeded the proportion of Hispanics eligible for service present in the general available civilian population. While the Marine Corps exhibited the highest proportion of Hispanic NPS accessions, all the Services are accessing an increasing number of Hispanics. What this indicates is that even in the face of a general decline in propensity, the Services are enlisting an increasing number of Hispanic youth because Hispanics are making up an increasing proportion of the population

Hispanic Subgroups

As was discussed earlier, Hispanics or Latinos are not a homogeneous group. Figure 7 shows the national origin breakdowns of the Hispanic civilian labor force (based on 1996 US Census Bureau estimates). It can be seen that Mexican-Americans make up 65 percent of the Hispanic labor force, followed by Latin Americans (15 percent) and Puerto Ricans (10 percent).

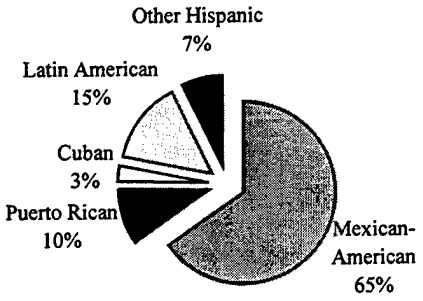


FIGURE 7. U.S. Census Bureau estimates of the Hispanic Civilian Labor Force (15 to 24 Years Old)
Source: Bureau of the Census, (1996)

Figure 8 illustrates that in 1997 Mexican-American youth made up 73 percent of U.S. Hispanic high school graduates followed by Latin Americans (13 percent) and Puerto Ricans (10 percent). These figures do not include high school graduates from Puerto Rico living on the island of Puerto Rico (who are eligible for military service). But it is clear that the vast majority of Hispanic youth eligible for military service will be Mexican-American.

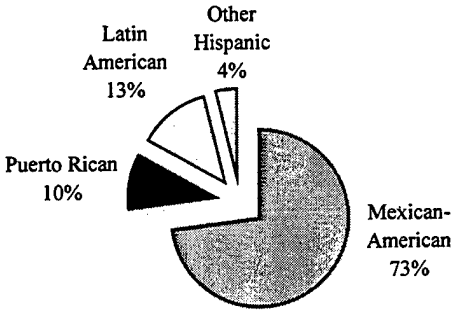


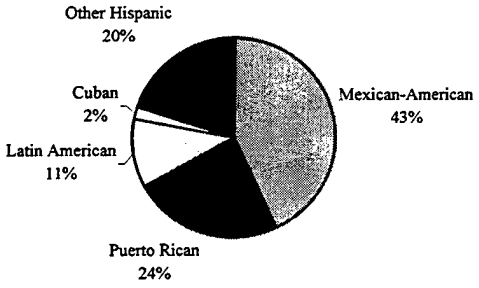
FIGURE 8. Hispanic High School Graduates by Hispanic Subgroup
Source: Snyder, Digest of Education Statistics, 1997

Small changes in the propensity of Mexican-American youth will have a much larger influence upon applications and enlistment of Hispanic youth than changes in the propensity of any other identified subgroup of Hispanics.

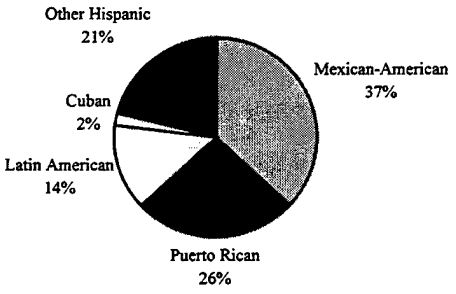
Individual Services Attract Different Hispanic Subgroups

The individual Services may be attracting different subgroups of Hispanics. Overall the Services evidence a significantly lower percentage of Mexican-Americans and a higher percentage of Other Hispanics than would be expected based upon their representation in the general population. Again, the data must be viewed with a certain amount of skepticism due to the variety of ways Hispanics are identified and classified. Nevertheless, data on Hispanic subgroup representation in the various Services will now be presented since it is the best information available. Figures 9 and 10 show the subgroup breakdowns for the different Services for FY96 and 97. The "Latin American" subgroup represents a much smaller proportion of the Services than would be expected given the Census Bureau estimates of the subgroups, while the "Other Hispanic" represents a much larger proportion than would be expected from the Census Bureau data. The best explanation for this phenomenon was provided by an Army demographer, who noted that recruiters are frequently the main source of Hispanic ethnicity information. If recruiters do not ask a recruit for ethnicity, it is likely that the information may be maintained incorrectly in the personnel files (upon which Figures 9 and 10 are based).

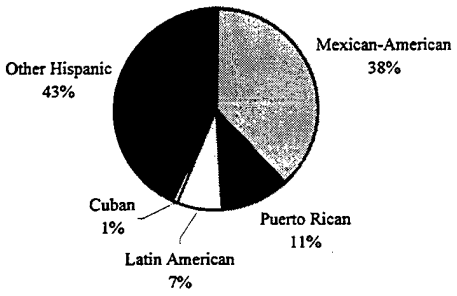
Hispanic Subgroups, Army FY96



Hispanic Subgroups, Army FY97



Hispanic Subgroups, Navy FY96



Hispanic Subgroups, Navy FY97

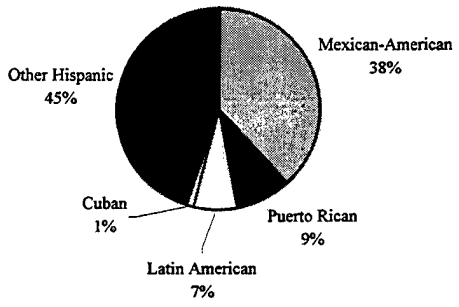


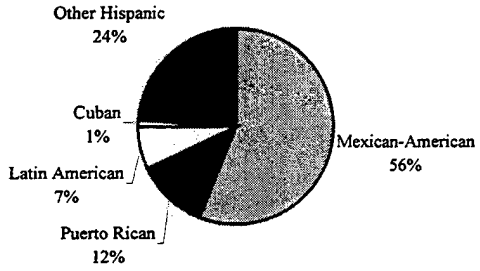
FIGURE 9. NPS Army and Navy Accessions for Hispanic Subgroups, FY96 and FY97
Source: OASD (FM&P), 1997

A further point relates to the citizenship status of new recruits. Enlistment paperwork, as previously discussed, notes the place of birth of the new recruit. Recruiters are most likely to accurately identify Hispanics born outside the U.S. as opposed to Hispanics born in the United States.

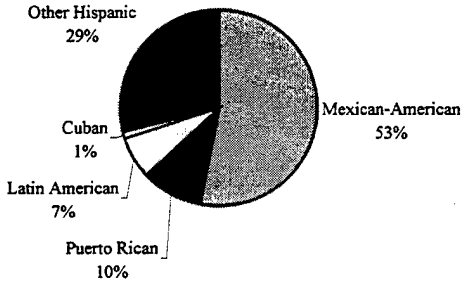
Hispanics in the Army are most frequently identified as Mexican-American and fewer are identified as Other-Hispanic. Between 1996 and 1997 the percentage of Mexican-American Army accessions decreased by 6 percentage points. In 1997 the Army has more than twice the number of Puerto Ricans (26 percent) than the Navy (9 percent) and the Marine Corps (10 percent) as well as 9 percent more than the Air Force (17 percent). The Army also has twice the number of Cubans (2 percent versus 1 percent) than the other Services and a higher percentage of Latin-Americans.

Compared to the other Services, the Navy has the largest proportion identified as Other Hispanics. The Navy experienced a 2 percentage point increase in the number of Other Hispanics and a 2 percentage point decrease in Puerto Ricans between 1996 and 1997.

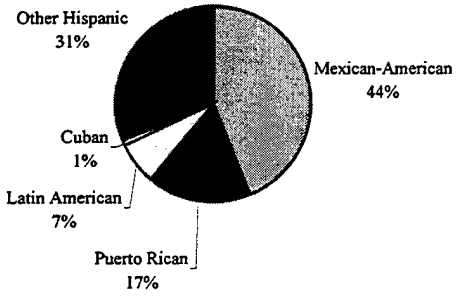
Hispanic Subgroups, Marine Corps FY96



Hispanic Subgroups, Marine Corps FY97



Hispanic Subgroups, Air Force FY96



Hispanic Subgroups, Air Force FY97

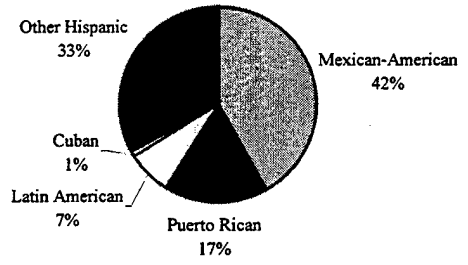


FIGURE 10. NPS Marine Corps and Air Force Accessions for Hispanic Subgroups, FY96 and FY97.
Source: OASD (FM&P). 1997

The Marine Corps' Hispanic subgroup proportions most closely resemble that of the civilian population. The Marine Corps experienced a 3 percentage point decrease in the proportion of Mexican-Americans and a 2 percentage point decrease in the proportion of Puerto Ricans. The Other Hispanic population grew by 5 percentage points.

The Air Force has the second largest proportion of Puerto Ricans, behind the Army. The largest proportion of Hispanics is the Mexican-American subgroup. The only change between 1996 and 1997 for the Air Force was a 2 percentage point decrease in Mexican-American and a 2 percentage point increase in Other Hispanics.

The Importance of Socio-Economic Factors

Hispanic researchers have noted that differences in the socioeconomic and immigrant status of Hispanics (and Mexican-Americans) must be considered when trying to understand behaviors and attitudes (Chavez, 1991). Military propensity researchers, as we have seen, have also noted the preeminence of socioeconomic factors in predicting positive propensity for military service (Lancaster and Lehnus, 1997). Demographic characteristics of Mexican-Americans make this group a potentially volatile source of recruits.

There are approximately 13 million people of Mexican origin in the U.S. Contrary to popular belief, most Mexican-Americans (67 percent) are born in the U.S. compared to about 28 percent of Cubans. Half of the foreign born Mexican population entered the U.S. in the 1980s. About 80 percent of Mexican-Americans speak a language other than English, and about 40 percent indicated that they "did not speak English very well" at the time of the 1990 Census. California has the largest foreign-born population of any state in the United States in 1995, the largest proportion of which was Mexican-American. California also continues to attract the largest number of immigrants of Mexican origin (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1998).

Figure 11 shows that 36 percent (264,000) of Puerto Rican families live at or below the poverty level. Twenty-eight percent of Mexican-American families (1.05 million) live at or below the poverty level. Cubans are least likely to live below the poverty level (Census Bureau, 1996). Mexican-Americans and Latin Americans have the lowest income levels, and they have declined over the last several years (Lopez, 1998). Previous studies of propensity noted that increased benefits offered by the services (Manigart & Prensky, 1982) and high unemployment rates (Dale & Gilroy, 1984) attract youth to military service. The factors examined in this report suggest that Hispanic youth, particularly Mexican-American youth born in the U.S., may seek military service.

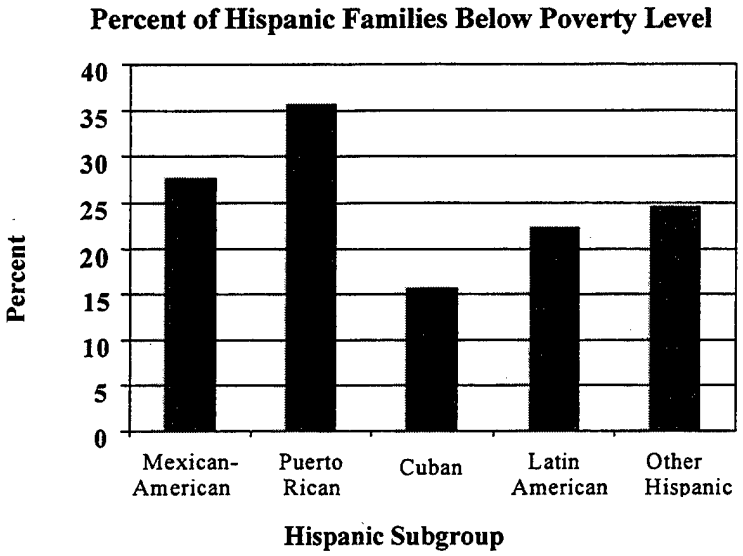


FIGURE 11. Percent of Hispanic Families Living Below the Poverty Level (1995)
Source: Bureau of the Census, (1996)

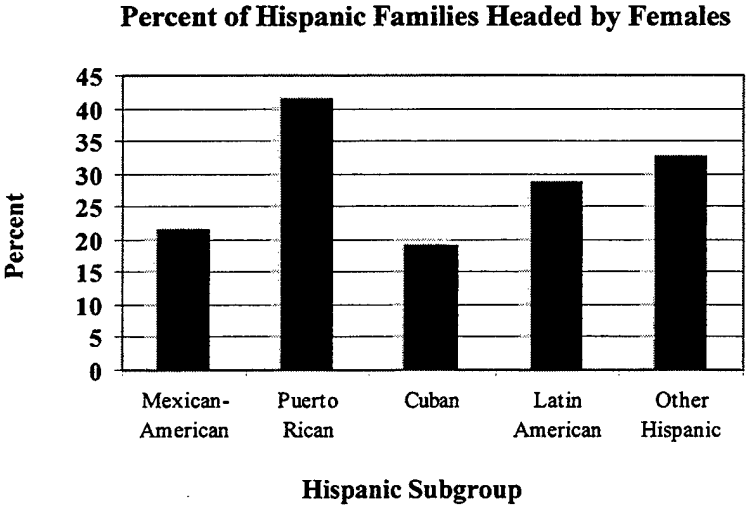


FIGURE 12. Percent of Families Headed by Female, No Husband Present.
Source: Bureau of the Census, (1996)

Figure 12 illustrates that Puerto Rican families (42 percent) are most likely to be headed by a female and 33 percent of Other Hispanic families are likely to be headed by a female with no husband present. Cuban and Mexican-American families are less likely to be headed by females. According to 1995 CPS estimates, only 6 percent of Mexicans-Americans were divorced compared to 10 percent of Puerto Ricans, 12 percent of Cubans and 6 percent of Central and South Americans. Of the Hispanic origin population 7 percent were divorced compared to 9 percent of the non-Hispanic population. The percentage of divorced Puerto Ricans increased from 1995 levels, but the percentage of divorces decreased for the other Hispanic subgroups.

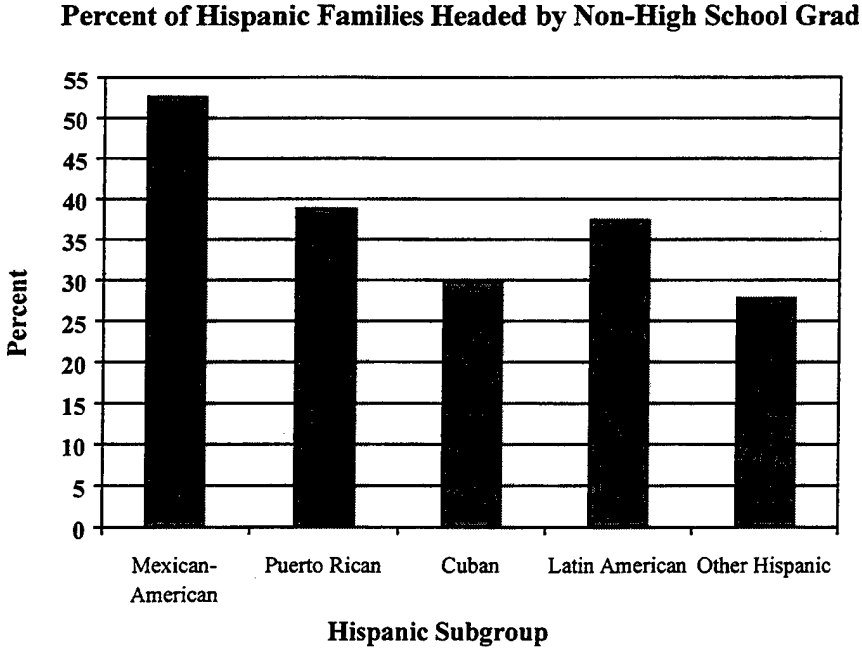


FIGURE 13. Percent of Families Headed by Non-High School Graduates
Source: Bureau of the Census, (1996)

In Figure 13 we see that in 1996 over 50 percent of Mexican-American families were headed by non-high school graduates (20 percent of which live below poverty). Cuban families are least likely to be headed by non-high school graduates.

Overall, Cubans appear to be relatively affluent with more intact, educated families. Mexican-Americans are poorer, least likely to be in families headed by a high school graduate, least likely to be in families headed by a female and least likely to be divorced than other Hispanics. Puerto Ricans families are the poorest and most likely to be headed by females.

In order to understand how best to positively influence enlistment propensity, a better understanding of its causes are needed. One obvious potential cause is change in the socioeconomic status of Mexican-Americans. Evidence concerning the socioeconomic status of Mexican-Americans, as we have seen, is mixed. On the one hand, marketers appear to have found a large middle class of Mexican-Americans, and on the other, the large pool of uneducated recent Mexican immigrants suggests there is a large group of poor Mexican-Americans. Identification of the causes of changing socioeconomic status would require examination of the regions of the country that are predominately Mexican-American. Obtaining the type of data required to examine micro-economic changes is time-consuming. One alternative means of assessing changes in the Hispanic community--and thus of gaining a better understanding of the propensity decline--is to speak with leaders in that community.

Thus, we now turn to a presentation of Hispanic community leaders' insights into declining propensity--especially among Mexican-American youths--and to consideration of the Marine Corps' overall recruiting strategies, particularly its success with Mexican-American youths.

How Do Leaders in the Hispanic Community Explain the Recent Decline in Propensity Among Hispanic Youth?

Methodology

Sample Selection

In order to focus upon nationally recognized Hispanic organizations, a directory of Hispanic Organizations was obtained from the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute. The Directory was reviewed to find organizations with a focus upon Hispanic youth and/or military Service members/veterans. A list of the members of the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda (NHLA) was also obtained and reviewed. Leaders of 22 organizations were identified as potential interviewees. Experts within and outside DoD concerned with enlistment propensity reviewed the list. Subsequently, 17 letters were sent directly to the organizational leaders describing the project and requesting an hour or so of their time for an interview. Appendix A provides the names and addresses of the leaders and their organizations.

Development of the Interview Protocol

Using the broad research questions (see Appendix B) as a guide, a structured, one-hour interview format was designed that could be administered either in person or over the telephone. The protocol included topic reminders under each question that enabled the interviewer to maximize coverage of the issues of concern without needing to adhere strictly to a format that might inhibit rapport with the leaders. Topics were organized to follow a natural flow of conversation beginning with asking the leader to first describe his/her organization and job. If the leader chose to address the topics in a different order, the interviewer followed the leader's lead. The reminders were used liberally to encourage the leader to provide more detail in response to the general questions. The first author of this report conducted all of the interviews.

In order to facilitate discussions, a short questionnaire was constructed and faxed prior to the interview. This requested basic demographic information about the leader and the organization. Appendix C provides an example of this questionnaire.

Data Collection

Data collection began on March 20, 1998 and was completed on June 16, 1998. Phone calls were made to each organization following up on the letters that were sent requesting an interview. The majority of the interviews (10) were conducted over the telephone. Table 4 provides a breakdown of the interviews by organization, interviewee, and format for interview and number of interview participants. Several leaders thought other members of their staff should be included in the interviews.

TABLE 4
Information about Hispanic Leader Interviews

Organization	Interviewee	Interview Format
American GI Forum	Antonio Gil Morales	Telephone
American GI Forum Foundation, National Veteran's Outreach Program	Arthur W. Solis	Telephone
ASPIRA, FL	Raul Martinez	Telephone
Association of Naval Service Officers (ANSO)	Adolfo D. Ramirez & Dave Benton	In-Person
Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Inc.	Rita Elizondo	In-Person
Hispanic Policy Development Project	Siobhan Oppenheimer-Nicolau	Telephone
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)	Cuauhtemoc Figurea	Telephone
Midwest Consortium for Latino Research	Francisco Villarruel	Telephone
National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials	Mario Muralles	Telephone
National Council of La Raza (NCLR)	Raul Yzaguirre, Norman Heitzman, Jr. & Joel Najar	In-Person
National Hispanic Leadership Conference	Tony Bonilla	Telephone
SER-Jobs for Progress National, Inc.	Hugo Cardona	Telephone
Thomas Riveria Policy Institute	Harry Pachon	Telephone

Data Analysis

Interview notes were analyzed for emerging themes. This analysis was initially conducted by comparing different leaders' answers to specific questions. General themes were then identified and are discussed below in the context of the information provided by the leaders.

What is the Hispanic Community?

Hispanic leaders were asked to define the Hispanic community to provide a context for what they felt were the reasons for the decline in Hispanic enlistment propensity.

The leaders identified several factors that define the Hispanic community. Different definitions of the term Hispanic or Latino were offered by many leaders, but the primary agreement was on the importance of origins in the Western Hemisphere as indicative of Hispanic ethnicity. Harry Pachon of the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute offered a concise definition of Hispanics as *individuals who trace their roots back to the Spanish speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere*. He does not include people from Spain or the Philippines in this definition. Spanish language and other cultural factors were additional attributes mentioned by the leaders.

Some leaders indicated they did not think there was a Hispanic/Latino community, just a loose configuration of peoples with some similarities driven together by context. Census Bureau efforts to force information into survey categories was offered as an example of a contextual factor.

Leaders tended to discuss the Hispanic community in terms of several specific issues such as geographic distribution, country of origin, number of generations in the U.S., reasons for immigrating, socio-economic issues, Spanish language, and culture. As we shall see, all of these issues are also used in the leader's explanations for declining Hispanic youth military propensity.

The factor cited by leaders as offering the strongest potential differentiation between Hispanics and other groups is culture. Leaders defined culture in terms of Spanish language usage, the importance of family unity, the significance of religion and spirituality (specifically the Catholic religion), the importance of treating each other with respect and dignity, the machismo of male Hispanics, and the prevalence of traditional values involving a strong work ethic and respect for authority. Again and again the importance of a sense of community was raised, particularly with regard to aiding individuals in the community to improve their situation.

How Do Hispanic Leaders Explain the Decline in Hispanic Youth Propensity?

Answers to this question were drawn from two questions asking about individual- and community-based influences upon Hispanic youth employment decision making (See Appendix B). The answers can be grouped into several overarching categories that included economics, opportunity, community organization, military standards, knowledge of the military, role models, media, demographics, and education. When reviewing the information provided, it is important to note that the leaders were interviewed individually. If the leaders had had the opportunity to discuss the issues as a group, views may have been clarified and conflicting information resolved.

Economics

Leaders frequently mentioned the influence of economics or socio-economics upon youth decision making. Employment and unemployment rates were the most frequently mentioned economic indicators. Leaders felt that when the job market was good, Hispanic youth would be less likely to be interested in military service. One leader noted a bifurcation in the Hispanic youth population driven by social class. While Hispanic subpopulations play a role in specific employment issues, the superordinate concern influencing all Hispanic youth is perceived employment opportunities.

Hispanic youth from less privileged backgrounds were described as being driven by the everyday realities of surviving. Children of immigrants feel obligated to help their families monetarily as soon as they are able to obtain employment. They seek jobs that can be entered quickly and easily. For many of these youth, the connection between continued education (high school and college) and better employment opportunities is not within the range of their experience or that of individuals from whom they are likely to seek employment advice (e.g., parents, siblings, peers). In spite of this lack of educational aspiration, leaders noted that Hispanics are a very hard-working group. Several leaders noted that Hispanic males have the highest labor force participation rates of any group, yet Hispanic families make up the largest proportion of families living below poverty level. The leaders were not differentiating between immigrant families and families of Hispanics that have been in the U.S. for multiple generations.

The limited geographical distribution of Hispanics/Latinos was felt by leaders to contribute to a disproportionate influence of local and regional economic and political events on Hispanics. The majority of the Hispanic population is located in the states of California, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New York.

Opportunity

The most frequently cited reason Hispanic youth propensity may be declining was that the youth eligible for military service under the AVF standards also have other opportunities available to them. These youth may be encouraged to attend college or seek a commission as an officer in the military.

The importance of opportunity came up within several contexts as an influencer of Hispanic youth decision-making. Several leaders mentioned educational opportunity. Ineffective guidance counseling, combined with systemic issues such as poor language skills, appears to have contributed to stereotyping by school guidance counselors. Instead of being encouraged to aspire, Hispanic youth were described as being counseled out of pursuing further education or skilled jobs. Institutional failures contribute to the high drop-out rate of Hispanic youth, and many view the schools as "not working for them" and move into low-wage jobs early. Unfortunately, leaving high school makes it more difficult for youth to be exposed to military recruiters and to meet the standards for enlistment.

Contrary to popular stereotypes, most Hispanic immigrants to the U.S. are supported only by nuclear families. Because of the low wages of the jobs these individuals work, the entire family often contributes to economic survival. Further, Hispanic culture emphasizes family unity and loyalty. Thus, many Hispanics may perceive military service as a threat to their family unity and survival, and may therefore deter youths from considering enlistment.

Community organization

The number one issue for Hispanic community leaders, as identified by the leaders, is education. Community-wide efforts are focused upon increasing the educational aspirations and attainment of Hispanic youth. The successful passage of a school bond in Los Angeles by Hispanic voters was used as an example of how this contextual factor is galvanizing action from Hispanics. Several leaders noted that the issues facing the Hispanic community are no different from those facing other urban groups: education, crime, and health care. A relatively high high school drop-out rate for Hispanic children and lack of health coverage for many Hispanic youth were mentioned as illustrations of the urgency of these issues.

Leaders mentioned that the U.S. does not seem to be as welcoming to Hispanic immigrants as it used to be, legally or socially. One leader noted that the use of the military to aid in border patrol contributes to a perception that the military is unfriendly to Hispanics. Another leader noted that the Hispanic community is separated from middle-class America because of high competition for entry-level jobs (due to large high school drop-out rates and large numbers of unskilled immigrants) among generations.

Several organizations were thought to be having an impact in the Hispanic community. The Hispanic Association for Corporate Responsibility (HACR) is working with the business community to increase recruitment and representation of Hispanics in American businesses. The Hispanic Association for Colleges and Universities (HACU) is actively reaching out to universities and colleges to encourage Hispanic youth enrollment. To the extent that these efforts are successful, propensity may be declining because more youth are contemplating continuing their education.

A recent study of the Hispanic market by the University of Georgia's Selig Center for Economic Growth (Charlesworth & Hudes, 1997) was cited by leaders as generating increased business interest. The study indicated that there is a large, relatively untapped Hispanic consumer market. The degree to which businesses are seeking Hispanic employees to aid them in tapping this market may be decreasing propensity for military service.

Military standards

Military standards influence Hispanic youths' propensity for service. Several leaders noted that the military is different from when they grew up. Changes they noted which might be influencing Hispanic youth interest include high school graduation requirements, medical concerns, residency requirements, AFQT test scores, and the number of allowable dependents. There may be a growing perception that the military is difficult to join.

Perceptions of the U.S. Military

Immigrants and their children frequently came to the U.S. as refugees fleeing economic and political strife in their countries of origin. Many of these individuals do not differentiate between law enforcement, the military and other government authorities. The U.S. military's reputation may need to be clarified in Hispanic communities where there have been few opportunities for exposure to military service.

Lack of knowledge about the military is compounded by the media's coverage of discrimination cases involving the military. One member of the Hispanic community mentioned that the cases of discrimination brought by females are evidence of white male chauvinism perpetuated by Senior NCOs and junior officers. Individuals who may have been contemplating military service as a term of public service (as many Mexican-Americans do) may be swayed towards other public service options out of concern for potential discrimination. Individuals considering the military as a career (as many Puerto Ricans do) may be concerned they will not be promoted. Several leaders mentioned a need to hold Senior NCOs and junior officers accountable for acts of discrimination. Hispanic knowledge about the military needs to be expanded to include information about the range of job opportunities, realities of the military lifestyle, and commitment to fighting discrimination.

Base closings in some predominantly Hispanic communities were believed to contribute to a decreased interest in military service. Youth no longer exposed to the day-to-day operations or jobs related to the military bases may not be as aware of employment opportunities offered by the military. The fact that military downsizing has hit the Southwest particularly hard may be a clue to declining Mexican-American interest in military service.

Role models

Several leaders noted that the best recruiter is the youth's parents if the parents understand the opportunity offered by the Services. Leaders noted that declining propensity might be due to decreased exposure to role models (with recent military experience). Those relatives who have served years ago may remember lower entrance requirements for education and medical issues, ability to go into the military instead of go prison, and the societal discrimination they returned to even after giving service in U.S. wars. One leader noted that his father told him that while "America may turn its back on the Mexicans, the Mexicans never turned their backs on America." Leaders described the current generation of youth as less willing to "put up with discrimination." Some leaders indicated that pride and duty to the U.S. during world wars does not extend to the more "mercenary" wars of today. They see youth as seeking to give public service through participation in the political process as opposed to military service. Further, the current war on Mexican immigration and the military's involvement could contribute to Hispanic feelings of alienation toward the military, and to a sense of being required to fight against one's own people.

An increasing range of Hispanic role models was offered as a reason propensity may be decreasing. In the past, the primary role models have been teachers, local government officials, and parents, but more Hispanics today are professionals, specifically attorneys and business people. Many more role models involved in public service are needed, especially for middle school aged youth. Leaders felt that Service members could interest youth in military service by participating in Adopt-a-School programs run by many local Chambers of Commerce. Additionally, it was suggested that successful Hispanic military leaders and other public servants should be identified and encouraged to publicize what is possible.

Gangs were identified as potentially negative role models for Hispanic youth. Hard-working parents have little time to spend with their children and youth join gangs (as early as 6th grade) for the sense of belonging and for the sense of protection/security offered by them. The gangs represent a chance to belong to a cultural network that extends beyond a youth's immediate family. Leaders differed in their descriptions of gangs. Some noted the interracial violence of the gangs; others noted that there are now multiracial/ethnic gangs. Some leaders agreed that it was not the gangs themselves that are bad, but some of the activities they engage in. Many leaders noted that gangs are no bigger a problem in the Hispanic community than in any other community.

Media

Leaders noted that English-language, mainstream media has a substantial influence upon Hispanic youth. Advertising in the Spanish-language media would probably not be as important for attracting the youth, but it would be very important for making Hispanic parents aware of the opportunities offered by military service. As the proportion of parents with accurate military knowledge decreases, the degree to which military service is in the forefront of possibilities considered for their children decreases. Several leaders noted, however, that there is a need for positive, non-stereotypical Hispanic media role models.

Demographics

There continues to be a sizeable Hispanic immigration and the Hispanic population is increasing rapidly (five times the rate of the general population). If Hispanic neighborhoods expand and become predominantly Spanish-speaking, it becomes more likely that youth will not speak English in the neighborhood. Schools, dealing with the constant influx of immigrants and decreasing resources, indicate they are pressed to provide the extra services needed by non-English speaking students. Leaders noted that, historically, the military has drawn from new immigrants without regard to skills or standards. Under AVF conditions, however, more stringent standards are limiting the number of immigrants qualified to serve. The military as a mechanism for achieving Hispanic social mobility and for demonstrating patriotic citizenship may be declining as a consequence of the interaction between failing efforts to keep Hispanic youth in school and more stringent enlistment standards.

There are different influences on Hispanic females within the Hispanic subgroups. Mexican-American culture, for example, tends to enforce traditional gender roles and ideology including parental concern over how their daughter is being cared for. Military service will be difficult to encourage because many of these females are expected to marry and start families. Puerto Rican females may be more receptive to military service opportunities because of the higher incidence of female-headed households. Other factors that will influence Hispanic female propensity include the recency of her family's immigration to the U.S. and whether the family lives in a rural or urban environment. Families that have been here longer and families in more urban environments will look more like the U.S. mainstream. In order to recruit Hispanic females, the military will need to emphasize ads that enable such women to identify with jobs in the military.

Education

Leaders note that the "self scripts" of Hispanic youth need to be changed to include educational aspirations such as college. Military service is viewed as a good means to aid certain youth in learning self-reliance and gaining a wider range of experiences. Leaders felt that the military could capitalize on this by publicizing the wide range of jobs a youth can learn while providing public service. Education, to many Hispanic youth, is thought of in terms of getting a job, not of studying and going to college. Community colleges attract a larger proportion of Hispanics because of their emphasis on learning specific skills and the availability of mentors. Leaders thought the military would succeed in the Hispanic youth market through better dissemination of information about the military workplace and educational opportunities.

Leaders noted that Hispanic children are predominantly in urban, public schools, many of which were described as crumbling and having a difficult time attracting good teachers. Leaders noted that Hispanic youth drop out of high school due to (a) dysfunctional families (preoccupation with internal family issues such as drugs and gangs; overworked parents; etc.), (b) teenage pregnancies (which cause two drop-outs, because the female will not stay in school and the male drops out to marry and support her), and (c) perception by juniors and seniors that school is not working for them (i.e., that it is a rational choice to begin making money earlier). If the youth are dealing with problems of this nature, they are not thinking about careers. Since many of the parents attend adult night classes in the same high schools as their children, leaders

indicated that recruiters might benefit by conducting presentations to these parents to make them more aware of the opportunity offered by the military.

Generally, the leaders seemed to indicate that propensity may be declining due to two overriding factors: (a) an increase in opportunities for high-quality Hispanic youth that makes the military only one of many options; and (b) limited understanding of the opportunities offered by the U.S. military in poorer communities because of negative or inadequate publicity or advertising, experiences with the military in their countries of origin, and a decrease in the proportion of role models with military experience. Leaders noted that differences in how Hispanic subpopulations view the Services should be considered because they may lead to differing Service propensities.

How Could the Military Increase Hispanic Youth Propensity for Military Service?

Responses to this question may be grouped into the "personnel readiness triad" emphasized by military planners responsible for managing the AVF: attract talented, motivated young Americans; train them rigorously; and treat them fairly (Dorn, 1996). That is, the leaders interviewed for this study also emphasized the need to attract motivated youths, and pointed to skills training as one such major attraction. The leaders also highlighted the importance of fair treatment as a requirement for attracting and retaining high-quality, motivated Hispanic youth.

Attracting qualified, motivated youth

The leaders noted a number of ways that efforts to recruit Hispanic youth could be improved. Most of the methods involved a more active interaction between the Hispanic community and the military Services. For instance, several leaders thought that the Services needed to increase their level of representation at local and national Hispanic events. Organizations such as the Veterans Administration, American GI Forum, and LULAC were noted as particularly good places to increase community exposure. AMGIF and LULAC both have youth groups that would offer access to motivated young men and women.

Demonstrating to the Hispanic community that Hispanics are an important and involved force in the Armed Forces was also recommended. Leaders thought that public service announcements and ads should include Hispanics. They noted that the Navy and Marine Corps are doing a good job of advertising an ethnically diverse force, but they felt that the Army ads could be improved. Leaders thought the number of Hispanic recruiters should be increased. One leader did indicate that he had noticed an increase in Hispanic recruiters over the last couple of years. The number of Junior Reserve Officer Training Course (ROTC) programs in the high schools should be increased. Leaders also thought the military should try to "catch kids earlier." Hispanic youth are not grasping the relationship between education and improved job opportunities. For example, youth may hope to join the military after dropping out of high school, only to find out that the military has higher standards for individuals who have not completed high school. Currently, youth are not getting this information until they are junior or seniors or have already dropped out.

Demonstrating the benefits of military service as it relates to the Hispanic community was recommended. Leaders suggested the military advertise jobs involving computer technicians, medical technicians and cooks. The perception that the military is for "flunkies" needs to be changed to attract the higher quality, more motivated youth. Going into community organizations such as recreation centers, community centers and churches was thought by the leaders to be a way to seek out the higher quality, more motivated youth. Additionally, recruiting in these areas instead of high schools has the added advantage of providing the recruiters an opportunity to talk with parents.

One way leaders thought the military could ensure positive and informative exposure would be to develop teaching modules for high schools. Frequently teachers are looking for materials to include in their lessons on U.S. history and government. The role of the military in many aspects of our nation's history is not known or understood by youth.

Finally, leaders emphasized the importance of showing Hispanic parents the value of military service. The parents need to know that military service will help the generations to come. Through military service their children will more quickly become part of the mainstream United States. Children who successfully complete military service will bring back experiences, knowledge and skills that will help the community.

The importance of military training

The second leg of the personnel readiness triad involves training youth. Although the leaders interviewed were not concerned with personnel readiness *per se*, they did note that military training has certain intrinsic attractions to Hispanic youth. For example, the leaders frequently highlighted the importance of a continued sense of pride of belonging to a community (i.e., a unit). Leaders thought this desire to belong might be enhanced by involving Hispanic community advocates more frequently in military outreach efforts. Advocates could be given the opportunity to interact with youth in the Service so that they can go back to the communities and report accurately on what military life involves. Along these lines, the military could also increase the public's knowledge of the current military heroism of youth engaged in both warfare and in peacekeeping activities. The Hispanic community is very proud of the high number of Medal of Honor winners their communities have produced. Part of this pride in service involves the uniforms the youth are expected to wear. Several leaders mentioned that the uniforms could be improved. They have observed youth being attracted to the Marine Corps' uniforms, and to the Navy Whites. The other Services might benefit through improvement of the aesthetic appeal of uniforms.

The importance of opportunities for youth to earn college credit while serving was noted by the leaders (Note: the Navy has an active program along these lines). The salaries of enlisted personnel need to be reviewed. One leader told a story of military families needing to use food stamps to survive while living in Texas. Finally, one leader suggested talking to the youth choosing to leave the Services. What these youth say and do upon returning to their communities may be influencing propensity of non-prior-service youth. For example, one leader noted that men from his neighborhood sometimes went away to the military and then returned to take jobs they could have gotten without leaving the community. If the military does not offer some form of improvement, Hispanic youth may not see a reason to leave their families, friends, and neighborhoods.

Fair treatment of recruits

The last leg of the personnel readiness triad involves ensuring that military personnel are treated fairly. Along these lines, most of the leaders involved with the Hispanic community mentioned the sexual discrimination cases involving drill instructors at Aberdeen Proving Grounds and the Sergeant Major of the Army. Discrimination against women was noted by the leaders as an indicator of white male chauvinism which could negatively influence other minorities in the military. The leaders felt that the military needs to hold its senior NCOs and junior officers accountable and responsible for developing and maintaining a discrimination-free work environment. They felt that training programs should do a better job of emphasizing the negative effect of discrimination on personnel readiness.

Leaders also thought that perceptions of discrimination could be lessened through active publicity about Hispanics and other minorities who have "made it" in the Services. Colin Powell was frequently cited as an example of a successful minority role model. Leaders varied in their concern that there may be increased future conflict between African-Americans and Hispanics. The leaders were encouraged by the success of minorities regardless of the "type" of minority, yet were concerned that there could be conflict if minorities viewed increased competition for certain resources.

The previous two sections have reviewed issues Hispanic leaders identified as potentially contributing to the decline in Hispanic youth propensity for military service, as well as ways to increase Hispanic interest in military service. One of the questions leaders were asked is whether the Services (Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force) were perceived differently by their communities. The answer to that question was a resounding "yes." Again and again, the Marine Corps was mentioned as the Service of choice for Hispanic youths.

The next section begins by listing differences among the Services noted by the leaders. Based upon the leaders' comments about the attractiveness of the Marine Corps, and on manpower data presented earlier in this report indicating that the Marine Corps is maintaining a higher level of Hispanic participation than the other Services, an attempt was made to understand why the Marine Corps is doing so well recruiting Hispanic youth. Below, the Hispanic community leaders' answers to this question are reviewed, and after that, information gathered in discussions with Marine Corps recruiting officials is presented.

Why is the Marine Corps Successful in Recruiting Hispanic Youth?

Trends in Service-Specific Propensity

Figure 14 shows that in 1997 the Marine Corps appears to be the preferred Service for young Hispanic males. The figure also indicates that Service preference for this group has varied greatly since 1990. For example, whereas preference for the Air Force was at a peak of about 25 percent in 1990, by 1997 it had declined to about 18 percent. Similar figures are apparent for the Army. For the Marine Corps however, in the face of an overall decline, propensity has increased from about 17 percent in 1990 to 20 percent in 1997.

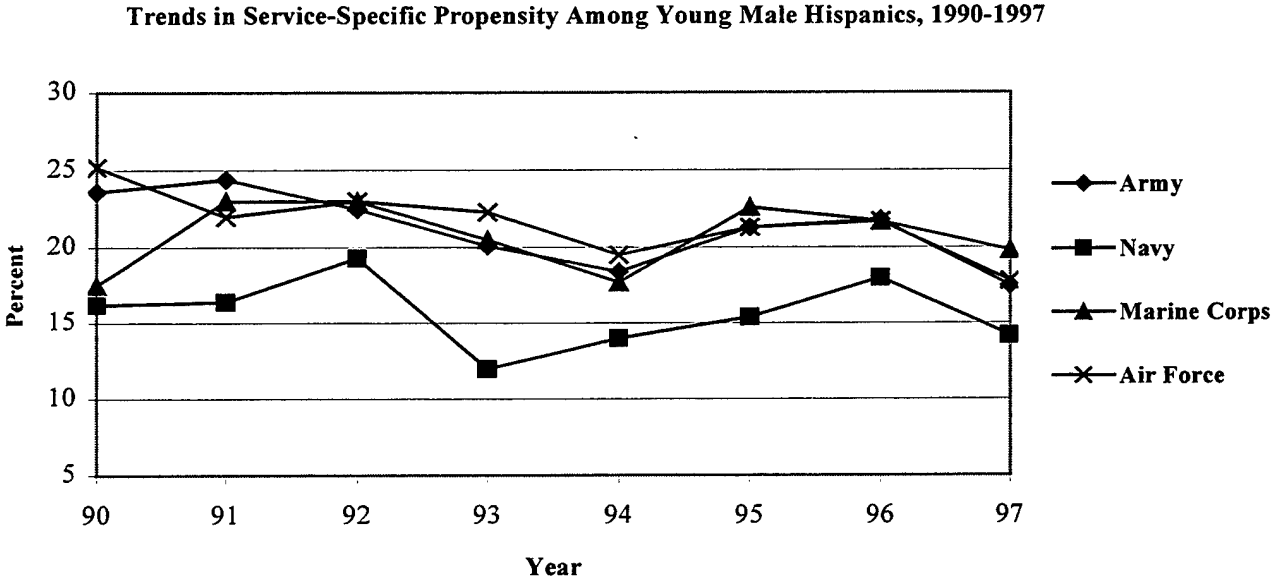


FIGURE 14. Trends in Service-Specific Propensity Among Young Male Hispanics, 1990-1997
Source: YATS, 1997 (DMDC)

Insights from Community Leaders

Leaders noted that the military Services are perceived differently by Hispanic youth. The Marine Corps was frequently mentioned as the most attractive Service for two primary reasons: a tradition of participation in this Service among Hispanics (and particularly Mexican-Americans), and the Corps' masculine image. "Machismo" was described as an important value to many Mexican-American youth, and relatives and friends who have served as Marines help reinforce that Service's "macho" image. Youth seek to join the Marine Corps in order to meet the challenges necessary to becoming a member of this "good gang." Moreover, the Marine Corps' core values are similar to those espoused by "machismo": i.e., honor, respect, dignity, and commitment. Hispanic leaders noted that youth perceive that in boot camp they will be treated no differently from other recruits--i.e., "poorly." In Marine Corps boot camp your performance, rather than your ethnicity or race, is what matters.

The Air Force was the second most attractive Service because youth perceive it as offering the best educational opportunities. Leaders also noted that youth are aware that it is the

most difficult Service to join because of its high entrance standards. The images of the Air Force included: "The thinking Service" and "the Prima Donnas--because they have all the jets."

Leaders were mixed in their perceptions of the Navy. One leader stated that if you are from a Navy town, you are more likely to be attracted to the Navy. Another commented that the attractiveness of the Navy involves the fact that "when you are on a ship, you have three meals a day, a roof over your head and a warm bed every night." Finally, for many immigrants, the Navy in their country of origin is the premier Service.

The Army seemed to be judged most harshly for several reasons. A few leaders felt that since the Army has the lowest entrance requirements it is the least attractive because it is the easiest to get into. However, they also believe that there are more positions available to them in the Army. During wars, the Army tends to enlist the most people, and many Hispanic youths have relatives who are combat veterans. The experiences of these veterans are mixed. While they are proud to have served, they are not actively recommending that their relatives join the Army. One leader noted that there is a large group of Puerto Ricans who are career Army, whereas Mexican-Americans have tended to "do a term of service" and leave. Finally, some new immigrants to this country may associate the Army with the dictatorial government forces they fled from in their native countries.

Marine Corps Recruiting Practices

In order to understand the factors that are contributing to the Marine Corps' success in the Hispanic non-prior service recruiting market, interviews were conducted with representatives at different levels of the Marine Corps recruiting structure. Interviews with production recruiters and their Non-Commissioned Officers in Charge (NCOICs) working out of Recruiting Substations in Southern California provided valuable insights into the reasons for the Marine Corps' success in recruiting Hispanics. Interviews were conducted with one officer at Marine Corps Headquarters, the Director of the Marine Corps Recruiter Training School, the senior officer in charge of the 12th District, the officers in charge of both Recruit Station Los Angeles and Recruit Station Orange County, production recruiters in Recruit Substations in Boyle Heights (L.A.) and Pomona (Orange County), a past NCOIC of Recruit Substation Chula Vista (Recruit Station San Diego), and other members of the 12th District Recruiting staff.

One reason proposed to explain the success of the Marines in recruiting minorities is that they do not recruit enlisted personnel on the basis of racial/ethnic considerations. Beyond the issue of quotas, the Marines' successful recruiting practices can be grouped into four main categories examined below: (1) Aggressive, systematic recruiting; (2) emphasis on espirit de corps; (3) identifying individual needs of applicants; and (4) "service after the sale."

Aggressive, systematic recruiting

Recruiters use aggressive prescreening techniques including "pop quizzes" intended to simulate ASVAB questions, health questions ("Have you ever had asthma?"), questions about citizenship status (the Marine Corps can accept legal aliens), and probes for motivational levels

("Do you want to be successful?"). Using these techniques, recruiters are able to weed out unqualified and unmotivated applicants before they ever get to more formal screening processes.

The Marine Corps also aggressively approaches the selection and training of recruiters. In 1980, General MacMillan moved the Marine Corps away from *ad hoc* recruiting practices referred to as "hip pocket" recruiting, to a strategy of "systematic recruiting." The latter is an 11-component approach that focuses recruiters' efforts and refines their time management. Under systematic recruiting, all members of the recruiting effort have defined roles and empirically based quantitative objectives. Data collected from the various elements of the system allow concrete and realistic goals or missions to be set. For example, production level recruiters are required to set and maintain a book called the S&R (Schedule & Results). In this book a recruiter plans his/her day, week, and month. All actions including the number of times he/she canvasses, makes telephone contacts and home visits, conducts interviews, etc., are recorded both as planned activities and as completed activities. The NCOIC regularly reviews the S&R and provides feedback concerning the recruiter's rate of contacts, interviewing, and selling techniques. By monitoring the S&R, both the commanders and recruiters know exactly where the individual recruiter is relative to making mission, and his/her closing-to-sales ratio. Another advantage of systematic recruiting is that quality applicants can be identified by sector and by school to help recruiters make contacts.

Another interesting aspect of the Marine Corps' recruiting approach is its Permissive Recruiter Assistance Program, and the aggressive use of PTAD (Permissive Temporary Active Duty). PTADs are junior enlisted personnel who recently completed Basic Training. They are sent to help the recruiters as a temporary assignment. PTADs work with the recruits waiting to go to boot camp (i.e., while they are in the DEP), freeing up a considerable amount of the production recruiters' time. A large portion of recruiting leads come through referrals from the PTADs.

The Marines mentioned that they seek out opportunities to participate in community events and to interact with key influencers in the Hispanic community. Frequently the Marines go to school events to perform color guards; one station even arranged for a helicopter to visit a graduation event. The NCOIC might make it a point to meet with high school principals, vice principals, and counselors to provide the school with a means of giving the Marine Corps feedback on how their recruiters are doing. Several members of the Marine Corps Recruiting Command mentioned that, unlike the other Services, the Marine Corps maintained relations with high schools during the drawdown periods and continued to recruit. Thus, their contacts remained continuous and consistent.

It is interesting to note that the elaborate, futuristic advertisements produced by the Marine Corps advertising company are remembered at levels out of proportion to the amount that is spent on air time. YATS data places the Marine Corps immediately behind the Army in ad recognition while the Marine Corps' advertising budget is quite a bit smaller than the Army's. Recruiters commented that potential recruits were attracted by Marine Corps ads that seemed to feature members of the Marine Corps.

Emphasis on espirit de corps

The espirit de corps of the Marines has been noted by both recruiters and Hispanic leaders as a potential reason the Marines have done so well in the Hispanic market. Unlike the other Services, where being the best of the best means joining a special unit of the Service (e.g., Navy Seals, Army Airborne), joining the Marines has meaning in its own right. The Marine Corps speaks to something many Hispanics want. Moreover, Marine Corps leaders say, the Corps' recruiters have heart. The Marines are taught in Basic Training "You will not fail," and this precept leads to a combat-like, fast-paced approach to recruiting. The average day for a recruiter begins early and runs late and often includes at least a half day on the weekend. Frequently, recruiters add additional hours in the evenings in order to make contacts over the telephone when families are home. Recruiters must prove themselves as successful Marines before they can become recruiters. Marine recruiters have completed a 3-year tour or have reenlisted, and many recruiters have been on multiple tours. Ultimately, recruiters are selling something they believe in: The Corps. The Marine Corps cannot offer educational benefits to enlistees as frequently as the other Services and thus cannot sell the idea of "money for college" as an enticement to prospective applicants. Thus, the product the recruiters are trying to get recruits to "buy" is an intangible, and instead of promising material rewards, they emphasize the Marine Corps values of honor, courage, and commitment.

Identifying individual needs

In addition to highlighting the honor of membership in the Marines, recruiters are trained to identify individual motivational needs that might lead to a match between the youth and the Marine Corps. Once the needs are identified, the recruiter focuses upon the benefits the Marine Corps offers, which can meet those needs. Recruiters working predominantly with Hispanics frequently mention enlistee needs of challenge, education, and self-respect/self-discipline. Recruits also mention the appeal of gender-segregated training and being held to "higher" standards than are recruits in other Services. Their primary salesbook, the Marine Corps Opportunity Book, won the 1997 Jefferson Award for Paid Print Media. This book is matched to a set of tabs the recruiters can use to identify the individual needs driving the interest of potential recruits. These needs seem to have been derived from concepts found in Maslow's theory that there is a hierarchy of individual needs (Maslow, 1943). The recruiters are taught to go beyond the potential recruit's initial comments--e.g., that they are mainly interested in money for college or skill training--to identify deeper individual needs such as finding out that a youth is unemployed and has a family, had a parent who was in the Marine Corps, or for whom being respected is important. As noted earlier, recruiters indicated that the Hispanic youth they interview frequently mention intangible benefits of military service that include: challenge, education, and self reliance/self-discipline.

"Service after the sale"

The Marine Corps goes to great lengths not to treat recruits like a "number." The Marines take the time to speak to parents and do so in Spanish where possible. They stay involved with the recruit all the way through boot camp. In fact, the recruiters write three letters to the new recruits while they are at boot camp, as well as a letter to the recruit's parents. This approach to training is termed "service after the sale" and the goal is to reduce buyer's remorse. Recruiters

note that their recruits are less likely to "flake" because they have joined more for a pride of belonging than just for money for college. Getting the family involved has a number of benefits, recruiters contend, including lower attrition rates, and better preparedness for the rigors of boot camp. Once a Hispanic family has agreed to let a son or daughter join the Service, recruiters believe, the youth does not come back until the commitment is met. Similarly, if a mother or father asks a recruiter for information about her/his son or daughter, the recruiters will go out of their way to track the information down, to the point that one recruiter mentioned driving the parent to the nearby military base to meet the recruit. The buddy system can be used to bring friends into the Service together, which increases the likelihood that both recruits will make it through training.

What Difficulties have the Marine Corps Recruiters Faced Recruiting Hispanics?

Problems with recruiting Hispanics often begin with determining if the potential recruit is a legal alien in the U.S. One of the most poignant moments of all the visits was a Hispanic father asking a Marine recruiter how his son could join the Marine Corps. The father told the Marine that his son wanted to "give service to this country." The son had good grades, had never been in trouble with the law, was in good physical condition, and had a job, but he was not a legal alien. There is nothing the recruiters can do in such situations because it frequently takes 1 to 5 years to become a legal alien. Another example of the difficulties encountered in bringing Hispanics into the Marine Corps stems from the requirement to verify green cards and birthplaces. Recruiters have sometimes found the cards to be fraudulent. Sometimes recruiters must actually go to the Social Security office to get a card changed to match the INS card or birth records.

Conclusions and Suggestions

The purpose of this report has been to explore Hispanic youth propensity to enlist in the military. Specifically, the focus has been on the issue of declining Hispanic interest in military service, and on attempting to explain and remedy the problem. The report has covered a very wide range of information, from definitions of the term "Hispanic" to the Marine Corps' recruiting practices. The complexity of the topic necessitated this kind of broad examination and that means that it is difficult to draw simple conclusions and present straightforward recommendations. Indeed, if there is a general conclusion to be drawn from our examination, it is that continuing study is needed on Hispanic youth propensity for military service.

Conclusions

The Hispanic community is not homogenous

A fact which repeatedly presented itself in this research is that the Hispanic community is composed of many different groups, and encompasses enormous diversity in terms of culture, national origin, regional concentration, immigration experiences, etc. In fact, it appears that the closer one examines Hispanic propensity, the less useful it becomes to conceive of "Hispanic propensity" as a single, unified phenomenon. For example, Mexican-American youths have different Service preferences and rates of enlistment than do Puerto Rican youth, and recent immigrants may exhibit different patterns than more assimilated Hispanics.

Mexican-American youths' propensity is especially important

Efforts to improve Hispanic enlistment propensity should pay particular attention to the needs, interests, and values of Mexican Americans. Because Mexican Americans represent the largest and fastest growing Hispanic subgroup in the U.S., declining Mexican-American interest in military service may represent a problem in the future.

Hispanic propensity is driven by a combination of socio-economic and cultural factors

In spite of the great diversity within the Hispanic community, it appears generally true that efforts to improve Hispanic propensity levels should focus on values and norms as well as on youth's socio-economic needs (e.g., pay, money for education, skills training). Our examination of Mexican-American youth's propensity, for example, revealed that their preference for the Marine Corps is often rooted in values like honor, courage, commitment, challenge, and espirit de corps. It also revealed that the parents of Mexican-American youths appreciate the Marine Corps' efforts to respect family integrity and to reach out to Mexican-American neighborhoods and communities. At the same time, though, many Hispanics, including Mexican Americans, are finding increased opportunities in the business world, and may be replacing values like duty to country and public service with desires for corporate and financial success.

Declining Hispanic propensity is equally serious among "high quality" male youths

In light of the two conclusions above, it is perhaps not surprising that Hispanic youths with at least a high school education and high mental aptitude are also showing less interest in military service. The Hispanic community's increasing incorporation into the American and global economies means that well-educated Hispanic youth are in high demand among a wide range of employers, including the military. Our analysis shows that in 1997 the propensity levels of "high quality" Hispanic youth decreased to 1994 levels, and that this appears to be part of a general downward trend among such youths (i.e., a trend which began before 1994).

Suggestions

The exploratory nature of this study makes it difficult to present firm recommendations about how to increase Hispanic youths' interest in military service. We therefore offer a several suggestions for the military to consider.

Adopt the best practices of the Services to improve Hispanic propensity

This report found that the Marine Corps has been particularly successful in maintaining Hispanic--especially Mexican-American--interest in that Service, and presented extensive examination of the Marines' approach to recruiting and retention. Mention was also made of the Army's historical attraction to Puerto Rican youths, and of the perceptions of the other Services held by many Hispanics. The most successful strategies of each Service should be reviewed by the others. Recruiting and accession policymakers should consider ways of improving all the Services' attractiveness to Hispanics, and also, ways of melding the most effective practices of each Service into a single overarching approach.

Develop and nurture the relationship between the military and the Hispanic community

Perhaps the most valuable information in this report is that concerning the views of Hispanic leaders on the relationship between the Hispanic community and the military. A positive by-product of this information gathering may be that an opportunity has been opened to develop further interaction between Hispanic community leaders and the U.S. Armed Forces. As the military continues to refine its approaches to attracting Hispanic youth, it will be important to maintain continuous dialogue with the Hispanic community and its leaders. Hispanics in the future will be an increasing portion of our national resources, with a large investment in the American way of life and its defense.

Research on the Hispanic recruitment market should include analysis and tracking of the different subgroups within the Hispanic community

As we have seen, it is problematic to conceive of the Hispanic community as singular and unified. Yet most research on Hispanic enlistment propensity--indeed, most research on Hispanic military participation in general--refers to "Hispanics" as if they constituted a monolithic ethnic and cultural group. It is important to know for example what differences exist between Mexican-American and Puerto Rican experiences with the military. Our recruitment capability will be

improved in the future if we obtain a better understanding of these differences. It would also be valuable to know more about regional, socio-economic status, immigration, nation of origin, etc., variations with the Hispanic community.

Standardize and differentiate the identification of Hispanics in military records

Clearly, if subgroup differences are to be tracked, it will be necessary to ensure that military records are consistent in how they identify individuals as Hispanic, and that they allow individuals to be differentiated according to subgroup membership. Currently, as was discussed, Services differ in their personnel identification practices, and different forms completed by a single individual may even vary in how racial/ethnic information is elicited. It would be desirable to determine where in the enlistment process it would be best to allow unobtrusive self-identification.

Continue to refine the measurement of enlistment propensity

Research (such as the current information collected by YATS) should continue to evaluate both the material rewards of service (i.e., pay, training, educational funds) and the more intrinsic, value-driven ones as well (i.e., citizen obligation, challenge, honor, personal growth). Enlistment propensity should be conceived not only in terms of the choices that youths make for themselves, but as something that is shaped by a youth's community and life circumstances. As our review of Marine Corps recruiting practices suggests, advertising budgets and sizeable educational packages may not be as important for attracting some youth as sincerely reaching out to the communities where youth, their parents, and their other loved ones live.

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Appendix A: Organizations Contacted

Organization	Leader	Address	Telephone
National Council of La Raza	Raul Yzaguirre, CEO/Director	1111 19th Street, NW, Suite 100 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 785-1670
Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities	Antonio Flores, Ph.D. President	4204 Gardendale Street Suite 216 San Antonio, TX 78229	(512) 692-3805
American GI Forum National Veterans Outreach Program	Carlos Martinez, President/CEO	206 San Pedro Avenue Suite 200 San Antonio, TX 78205	(210) 223-4088
American GI Forum of the United States	Antonio Gil Morales, National Executive Director	2711 W. Anderson Lane Suite 200 Austin, TX 78757-1121	(512) 302-3025
Southwest Voter Research Institute	Antonio Gonzalez, President	403 E. Commerce, Suite 260 San Antonio, TX 78205	(213) 728-5613
Inter-University Program for Latino Research	Gilberto Cardenas, Executive Director	P.O. Box 8180 Austin, TX 78713-8180	(512) 471-7100
Association for the Advancement of Mexican-Americans	Gilbert Moreno, Executive Director	6001 Gulf Freeway Building B-1, Suite 102 Houston, TX 77023	(713) 926-4756
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Foundation	Paul Garza, Jr., Chairman	P.O. Box 902 Laredo, TX 78042-0902	(210) 722-5544
National Hispanic Leadership Conference	Tony Bonilla, Chairman	2727 Morgan Avenue Corpus Christi, TX 78405	(512) 882-8284
SER-Jobs for Progress National, Inc.	Hugo Cardona, President	100 Decker Drive, #200 Irving, TX 75062	(972) 541-0616
Tomas Rivera Policy Institute	Dr. Harry Pachon, President	241 East Eleventh Street Steele Hall, Third Floor Scripps College Claremont, CA 91711-6194	(909) 621-8897
National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials	Mr. Arturo Vargas Executive Director	5800 S. Eastern Ave., Suite 365 Los Angeles, CA 90040	(213) 720-1932
ASPIRA Association, Inc.	Mr. Ronald Blackburn-Moreno National Executive Director	1444 Eye Street, NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005	

Appendix A: Organizations Contacted (continued)

Organization	Leader	Address	Telephone
Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Inc.	Ms. Rita Elizondo Executive Director	504 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	(202) 543-1771
Hispanic Association on Corporate Responsibility	Mr. Richard Jose Bela, Esq. President	1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW Suite 505 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 835-9672
National Puerto Rican Coalition, Inc.	Manuel Mirabal	1700 K Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20006	(202) 223-3915
Midwest Consortium for Latino Research	Dr. Francisco Villarruel, Chairman	Michigan State University 115 Human Ecology Building East Lansing, MI 48824-1110	(517) 353-4505
Hispanic Policy Development Project	Mrs. Siobhan Oppenheimer-Nicolau	36 E. 22nd Street, 9th Floor New York, NY 10010	(212) 529-9323
Association of Naval Service Officers (ANSO)	CMDR Adolfo Ramirez	P.O. Box 23252 Washington, D.C.	
New Jersey Puerto Rican Congress	Lydia Valencia, Executive Director	515 S. Broad Street Trenton, NJ 08611	(609) 989-8888

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Interview Questions for Community Organizations **3/98**

1. Could you tell me more about _____ (fill in name) and your role?
(mission, contributions, future vision, pressing social issues, access to ed and trng, employment opty, family formation, citizenship, generational issues)

2. As individuals, what do you think most influences a young Hispanic man or woman considering future plans such as employment or education?
(Who talk to, what saying, how investigating opportunities, When entering workforce, What careers admired? pursued?, How likely they are to actually do so, Family's role, Geography's role, Same for men and women)

3. What do you think most influences the employment choices available to young Hispanic men and women as a group/community?
(Rolemodels, media, education, teen pregnancy, citizenship, criminality and gangs, health, substance abuse, demographic changes)

4. What are the first things that come to mind when you think about Hispanics in the military? What does this mean for how Hispanics view the choice of military service? Are these changes? Are the different services (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines) viewed differently?

5. In your opinion, what could the military do to make enlisting more attractive to young Hispanic men and women?

I would like to ask you one last question.

6. What is the Hispanic/Latino community? How would you describe its different elements? Are there issues you feel are more critical for the Hispanic community than other communities in the U.S.?
(What are the different subpops, class, generations in U.S., bilingualism)

Thank you very much for talking with me. You have been very helpful. If you think of anything else you believe would be important, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Again, thank you.

Appendix C: Pre-Interview Questionnaire

Prior to the interview, we would like to gather information that will enable us to more accurately report our research findings. Would you please complete the following short form.📖

Thank you very much for your help with this effort.

Name of Organization: _____

President/CEO: _____

Person(s) to be interviewed: _____
Title: _____ Telephone Number: _____ Fax Number: _____
Address: _____

When was your organization established? _____ How many members does your organization currently have? _____

Where is your membership located? _____

How is your organization funded (i.e., dues, grants)? _____

Would you please describe your members (age, country of origin, number of generations in the U.S., language skills, etc.)?

_____

What proportion of your membership has military experience? _____
How was this determined? _____

What is the main means by which your organization communicates with its membership (i.e., newsletters, mailings, radio, television, meetings)? Is this in ☐ English, ☐ Spanish, or ☐ Both?

_____

What is the main means by which your organization communicates with the Hispanic community? Is this in ☐English, ☐ Spanish, or ☐ Both?

_____

Does your organization conduct surveys or polls of your membership or of the Hispanic community?
☐ No ☐Yes If so, what types of data are collected?

_____

Has your organization supported or sponsored research regarding the Hispanic community?
☐No ☐Yes Would you please attach a list of publications or the name/address/phone number of the person who may be contacted to learn more about the research?

_____

Please fax this sheet to Jennifer O'Connor Boes at (703) 696-4110. Questions? Call (703) 696-7402. ☎

Appendix D: Internet Sites

Listed below is an initial list of web sites available on Hispanic/Latino subjects. Those listed are not the best or worst, just a good starting point. The sites were active as of 3/13/98, but due to the fluidity of the web may have changed without notice.

www.hisp.com

www.cgs.edu/inst/trc.html

www-library.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/adams/shortcu/chic/html

www.mercado.com

www.latinoweb.com

www.hacr.org

www.latinolink.com

www.coloquio.com/index.html

www.mundonet.com

www.saludos.com

www.Latinoworld.com

www.NAHFE.org

www.latino.sscnet.ucla.edu/

www.cubaweb.com

www.elherald.com

www.infolat.com

www.ufsa.ufl.edu/lacista/index.html

www.iprnet.org/IPR/related.html

www.herencia.com

www.canfnet.org

www.esperanto.com

www.chci.org

www.jsri.msu.edu

www.hispanicbiz.com

www.ushcc.com

www.voiceoftheghetto.com/ylp/votgylp3.html

www.nationalimage.org

www.ncbe.gwu.edu/miscpubs/used/hdp/final.html

www.latinolink.com/news/news97/0130ninc.htm

www.nces.ed.gov